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THE STORY OF
VIRGINIA'S FIRST
CENTURY

OTHER BOOKS BY
MARY NEWTON STANARD

THE DREAMER
A ROMANTIC RENDERING OF THE
LIFE STORY OF EDGAR ALLAN POE

RICHMOND: ITS PEOPLE AND ITS STORY

EDGAR ALLAN POE LETTERS
TILL NOW UNPUBLISHED

COLONIAL VIRGINIA: ITS PEOPLE AND CUSTOMS
Out of print



ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND

From a portrait attributed to Federigo Zuccaro presented to the State of Virginia by the
Viscountess Astor

By Courtesy of the Virginia State Library

THE STORY OF VIRGINIA'S FIRST CENTURY

BY
MARY NEWTON STANARD

AUTHOR OF
"COLONIAL VIRGINIA, ITS PEOPLE AND CUSTOMS"
"RICHMOND, ITS PEOPLE AND ITS STORY," ETC.

WITH 27 ILLUSTRATIONS



PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

1928

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FIRST EDITION



PRINTED IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO
MY BELOVED TEACHER AND FRIEND
ANNA COGSWELL WOOD
OF NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
AND FLORENCE, ITALY
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

FOREWORD

THE face of Queen Elizabeth looks out from the frontispiece page of this story of the first hundred years of the first English colony in the world—now a great American state. It has been chosen not only because Virginia was named in honour of the Virgin Queen, not only because the first charter to plant a colony in North America was granted by her, but also because, though James I had been king three years before the settlement, those earliest colonists and all who came after for a number of years were Elizabethans, born and bred. The great queen's reign was the colony's real background.

The faces of other royal personages appear in these pages, for they were sovereigns of the colony which added to the British Empire its "Fifth Crown," as well as of Mother England. Their names still live in the names of Virginia counties, towns, rivers, and capes, and in that of William and Mary College, and are constantly on the lips of men, women, and children of today in every nook and corner of the state. Moreover, when in the middle of this Seventeenth Century, in the Calendar, and First in the life of the settlement, the downfall of Charles I made England a commonwealth, loyal Virginia remained, for a time, a royal colony and the youthful Charles II was proclaimed king there.

Says Froude, in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*:

"'Knowledge of the result,' a wise man once observed, 'has spoilt the composition of history.' The remedy, so far as there is a remedy, is to look wherever we can through the eyes of contemporaries from whom the future was concealed."

This "story" is told to enable its readers to look upon the Old Dominion of the Seventeenth Century through the eyes of contemporaries. Fortunately for the seeker after truth concerning the beginnings of Virginia, many of those who were on the spot set down in black and white "relations" of happenings as they saw them. Fortunately, too, these relations, in private letters and in state papers, have been preserved—making it possible to "look through the eyes of con-

temporaries from whom the future was concealed'' at the creation of an English-born, English-thinking, English-speaking republic in a new world occupied by a savage and (not unnaturally) hostile race. Yes, it is possible, but an embarrassment of riches in this interesting material makes it a backbreaking, eye-straining, time-consuming work in these days—and nights—of frantic rush and hurry after a thousand businesses and pleasures. And so I, who love the task, am using my eyes and my hand to build up for those who have not the time nor inclination to pore over the documents themselves scene after scene of as complete a picture as possible of Virginia's First Century, from the background in England to the year 1700.

This is believed to be the most complete story of seventeenth century Virginia that has been written. A full use has been made of all sources, including those most recently discovered, and important events and particulars not hitherto treated and which are necessary to a knowledge of the colony have now been given.

MARY NEWTON STANARD

RICHMOND
JUNE, 1928

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The ship appearing upon the cover is the *Sarah Constant*

THE STORY OF
VIRGINIA'S FIRST
CENTURY

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND

ON THE threshold of American History stands a slender, erect, bejewelled woman who made English America possible.

Doubtless many of the passengers on that historic fleet of the first English ships to enter Virginia waters had thrown up their hats and shouted "God save Queen Elizabeth!" as they ran, with all the country side, to have a glimpse of her—the dazzling central figure of her dazzling court—making one of her "progresses" from palace to palace, or to visit the castle of some noble. Colonists who came too late to Virginia and to the northern provinces to remember such scenes had heard them graphically described by parents and grandparents. All were familiar, personally or by tradition, with the vision of the Virgin Queen who had ruled England as absolute monarch for two generations and whose government made her the adored mother of the masses of her people. The anniversary of her accession was celebrated in England for a century after her death and during all those years the American Colonies were receiving supplies of men and women whose imaginations were under the spell of traditions kept alive by these celebrations. Nothing was ever more appropriate than the naming of Virginia in honor of this Virgin Queen.

Every phase of the life and reign of the great queen has been ably studied and a mountain of scholarly books set forth her life story, her personality and her achievements and the conflicting views concerning her. The mere glimpse of her given here is not an attempt to make a new picture of her character or a new theory concerning her diplomacy, but is presented in recognition of the fact that what her reign did for England and Englishmen is the foundation stone of Virginian and American history.

On November 17, 1558, the Princess Elizabeth, aged twenty-

five, sat under an oak tree in the park of Hatfield House. She had been lately released from the Tower, where her half-sister, Queen Mary, had imprisoned her, but was still under guard. Here came to her thrilling news—news that would make her Queen of England—the official announcement of Mary's death. She was dazed for a moment, then sinking upon her knees on the greensward she exclaimed: "Domino factum est illud et est mirabile in oculis!" (This is the Lord's doing and it is marvelous in our eyes.)

She had reason to give thanks, for England and for herself. Mary had disorganized Church and State and reduced her country to poverty and weakness. Besides, Elizabeth knew that her own head was not safe while Mary lived and ruled.

The brilliant, headstrong, highstrung young daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn on whom England's crown had so suddenly descended was no saint. She regarded religion as part of the life of civilized human beings and the church as a necessary feature of the government. Yet she was distinctly worldly minded and like many another character of the Renaissance period in which she lived, more intellectual than moral. Quick tempered as well as quick witted, she did not hesitate to put a Bishop or a minister of state in his place with a sharp retort accompanied, like as not, by "God's death" or some equally profane expletive. For she could swear and raise a delicate hand to box the ears of a courtier as well as dance and flirt and go a-hunting with hawk and hound. She had the frank and hearty way with her that made her father a good fellow and was his equal in scholarship, with mentality far exceeding his. The complexity of her nature was increased by the eternal feminine love of flattery and finery which made her string herself with rubies and diamonds until she sparkled like a Christmas tree and show herself to her people in a pageant staged for their admiration whenever policy or whim suggested the removal of her court from one place to another. Her two hundred guardsmen (of whom Walter Raleigh was long the captain) were clothed in scarlet, with a golden rose on the back of each, the large number of courtiers and small number of court

ladies she elected to keep near her, and her servants and retainers, were each and all habited to suit their rank. There were always musicians and actors to furnish entertainment for the court. A temporary stage would be set up in the great hall of palace or castle and many pair of hands set busy contriving scenery, stage properties and costumes.

Elizabeth loved the pomp and the obeisance of her subjects, to whose delighted eyes she made life for the moment seem all Maytime. But while she acted her part in the show she secretly carried the weight of England and its many serious problems on her slight shoulders—knowing that the enemies of her country and her policy were constantly plotting against her life. The brain behind the smiling face was often meditating on how (without sacrificing her people in war) to break the power of Spain, or how (decently and in order) to divorce England from the power of the Pope, or how to rid England and herself from the menace of another Mary—the Queen of Scots—without bringing upon her own head the opprobrium that execution of her beautiful cousin would be sure to cause, or how to contrive to keep down the taxes of the poor by borrowing from the rich. For this famous Elizabeth was a queen who did her own thinking for her island kingdom from the day of her accession as a young girl to her death at the age of seventy. She had taken up the reins of government with both hands and set herself with a will to a task which time was to see accomplished with success which was brilliant then and, as seen across the centuries today, is spectacular.

She was a crafty politician and—hedged about as she was—needed to be. How she could lie! Reared in an atmosphere of intrigue and deceit, she took refuge whenever she needed to protect her acts from criticism or her thoughts and intentions from discovery in unblushing falsehood. Strangely, withal, her heart was true. Her declaration to Parliament, “I have desired to have the obedience of my subjects by love and not by compulsion,” is shown by many acts of good government to have been sincere.

She enjoyed the devotion of brilliant and handsome cour-

tiers like Walter Raleigh and Humphrey Gilbert and Philip Sidney, and all her life she had a tenderness for the Earl of Leicester which was stronger because she knew she must deny it satisfaction. But it was passionate love for England and desire, which was something new in a sovereign, for the love of its whole people—not of the court especially, not of a select few but all, the poor and obscure as well as the rich and great, that made her reign what it was. She dearly desired all England to be merry England, every man of every class to have his chance in life. She wanted peace and order and interested and exerted herself to secure it for her subjects. In this democratic broadmindedness she was, with all her frailties, unique. On this rests the success of her long reign. By use of one of her most striking gifts—an instinctive knowledge of psychology which taught her to read men—she built up such a group of advisers as had surrounded no former English sovereign. She made life difficult for them, but they gave her not only wise counsel, but loyal obedience. The court quarrels were court secrets which did not leak out to mar the illusion which made her people loyal.

She was one of the loneliest persons alive. In all the crowds which flocked to her court (which was wherever she happened to be at the moment) there was neither father nor mother, sister nor brother, husband nor child, nor any to whom she might turn for intimate companionship—no one to whom she might show her real self, speak her real thoughts, for she was keeper of the keys to too many state secrets to trust herself to be confidential. Craving love and patriotically desiring a proper successor for her crown, she knew that marriage abroad, especially to a prince of France or Spain, might endanger England's peace, and that it was out of the question for her to marry a subject. Knowing too, it is believed, that it was impossible for her to become a mother, she made England and its people her husband and her children and devoted her life to their welfare. For herself, she took such satisfaction as the childish streak in her nature made possible, in decking herself with huge ruffs, curled hair and jewels and playing to the limit the part of Queen to a worshipful popu-

lace. Her one cry of protest against her lonely estate escaped her when she heard of the birth of a son (James, who was to become James I, of England) to her cousin and foe, Mary Queen of Scots: "The Queen of Scots has a fair son and I am but a barren stock!"

The most marked feature of Elizabeth's diplomacy was the habit of temporizing, which was the despair of her ministers. Whenever an important decision was to be made she played for time—changing her mind over and over again until it was impossible to guess what she would or would not do. But time thus secured generally brought fortune—showing that there was method in her indecision and that her success in gaining difficult points was the result of sagacious policy and not mere luck, as some have said. This diplomacy included much coquetry. Though secretly sworn to spinsterhood, she never wearied of being courted and thoroughly enjoyed herself while she staved off wars by pretending to listen favourably to the suits of foreign princes who were political enemies of England and of each other, as she staved off troubles at home by flirting with members of her court. The bitterly antagonistic factions in which she found England torn by the Reformation and by Mary's relentless rule did not tune with Elizabeth's love of peace.

Though she was punctilious in the observance of religious duties, and regarded the Church as an inseparable function of the State, and though she composed some eloquent prayers which have been preserved, Elizabeth was without convictions to make her either ardently Catholic or Protestant. Yet by her consummate tact she effected separation from the church of Rome and made the "new religion" the national Church of England. For this she used her favourite policy of making haste slowly. As death gradually removed the Romish priests from the churches she supplied their places with Anglican ministers and brought the people to hear them by fining those who stayed away. But she patiently waited for them to conform in heart as well as in outward appearance—for she made it her boast that she did not dictate to men's consciences. The result was the gradual filling of Catholic

churches with Anglican ministrants moulding the religious thought of a rising generation—the generation that would bring the English Church and its Book of Common Prayer to Virginia. Many of these were of pure life who brought the new church they represented the respect of their hearers.

The Pope's bull excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth co-operated with her in establishing the Church. When she became Queen a substantial majority of her subjects were Catholic but passionately loyal to her and the England she had created. When the Pope became her open enemy many of these rallied to the support of the church she had established. And the Pope's bull made Elizabeth a persecutor. She abhorred bloodshed. In the words of Greene: "She was the first ruler who felt religious persecution to be a stigma on her rule; the first who distinctly disclaimed religious differences as a ground for putting men to death." But she saw political danger in the secret preaching of disguised Jesuit priests hiding in England (in numbers which report doubtless exaggerated) and rooted them out with stake and torch. To most of England during her long reign she was the great Protestant Virgin Queen and as time went on she became a sort of patron saint of both Puritan and Cavalier.

Elizabeth was a good business manager for her realm. Early in her reign she carried economy to too great an extreme, but the result of careful expenditure—keeping England out of wars that were wasting most of the European countries and encouragement of productive industries—was steady increase in prosperity. Among early benefits of her business ability was her restoration of the currency, which had seriously depreciated and the return to her subjects of a subsidy voted to her by Parliament, and already collected, was, of course, a popular act. An oppressive feature was the granting to courtiers of the sole right to sell various products, but when she found that the feeling of her people was strong against these monopolies she gave way.

In one way she went the limit of extravagance. She knew that her subjects gloried in seeing her outshine Solomon and the Queen of Sheba combined in the gorgeousness of her

apparel, and if she did not salve her conscience with the excuse that the object of her immense expenditure to dress her own person was the pleasure of her people, at least she did please them.

Her statue in the centre of the London Exchange celebrated "the interest with which she watched and shared personally in its enterprises," (Greene) but she raised a more important monument to herself in the poor laws which brought relief to countless numbers of her people. Under her influence, manufactures increased. She gave especial attention to the cloth industry that kept thousands of spinners and weavers busy turning the wool of English sheep into cloth to be sent out in trading ships which brought back a variety of products from a variety of ports. She gladly granted the royal insignia to the great trading companies that brought comfort, wealth, and power to an England that had been weak and poor—for instance the East India Company, the Muscovy Company, the Turkey Company, the Venice Company, and others. Under her government London gradually became "the mart of the world." Houses and furniture of both rich and poor improved. In many homes good beds brought restful sleep to tired bodies for which the straw pallet with a stick of wood for a pillow had made night hideous, and tin and pewter spoons and dishes whetted appetites of those used to eat with wooden spoons from wooden platters. Everywhere in England groves and river-banks provided settings for stately Elizabethan manor houses.

Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of an England economically poor and politically weak, with hordes of unemployed becoming hordes of thieves and robbers, torn by religious contentions, bleeding from Queen Mary's efforts to save her own soul by burning heretics. By her fair-minded policy of giving every man his chance and by her encouragement of agriculture and trading, manufactures and commerce, exploration and discovery, music and the drama, scholarship and literature, she brought it up in the forty-five years of her reign to a golden age of peace, prosperity and culture. In the genial atmosphere she created, Edmund Spenser with

his "Faërie Queene"—dedicated to her—arose like a splendid sun. "The passion of love, of loyalty, of admiration," says the authoritative Greene, "which finds its most perfect expression in the 'Faërie Queene,' pulsed as intensely through the veins of her meanest subject." Great Shakespeare and all the rest of singing birds we now call Elizabethan, and Bacon and the other philosophers of the time flourished like the proverbial green bay tree. And English thought crystallized into the classic language which Shakespeare's plays and the King James translation of the Bible have made familiar. That it was the language of the people is proved by the dialogue of the matchless reporter, Shakespeare himself, and by the writings of Captain John Smith and others who made the Virginia voyage.

Elizabeth's interest in cultural pursuits has been questioned. The answer is that these things happened in her reign and when her personality dominated England and English thought. Absorbed though she was, in her big job of governing England, how could such a woman have been irresponsible to intellectual life around her? Brilliant, learned, deeply versed in the new Italian culture, possessed of a creative mind, she naturally chose for special friends such men as Walter Raleigh and Philip Sidney. Shakespeare and his fellow actors were often welcomed to her court, for the Queen loved a good play. When she saw played there the first and second parts of Henry IV she was so pleased with the character of Falstaff that she commanded the master to portray him in still another drama and to show him in love. The result was "The Merry Wives of Windsor," which she was so eager to see acted that she commanded that it be finished in a fortnight and "was afterward well pleased with the representation." On the night of that Shrove Tuesday when her sense of duty compelled her to sign the death warrant of her favourite, Essex, whom she knew would be beheaded next day, she bade Shakespeare give a dramatic entertainment before her and her court. Certainly, the great queen never stood in sorer need of the diversion than on that night. Loving books always, she tried her own hand at writing poetry,

made translations from the Greek and Latin masters, and often amid the problems that beset her, found a tranquil mind, in reading the classics. Through these and the volumes of "Voyages" published during her reign she knew the world beyond her England, though she never left its shores. When foreign nobles visited her court she chatted blithely with each in his own tongue.

Among pleasant traditional pictures of her is one which shows her on a visit to Oxford, listening to an address in Latin from a young student and afterward replying in Latin phrases of compliment and encouragement. Another shows her during one of her visits to Kenilworth Castle making a call at Warwick Priory, in the neighbourhood. The Priory was then the property of Thomas Fisher who had remodelled it into "a very fair house" for himself. Notwithstanding the fact that he was "grievously vexed with the gout," Mr. Fisher would have knelt to the queen, according to custom. "Her Majesty would not suffer it, but with most gracious words comforted him."

Near the end of her reign the great Queen eloquently said to the House of Commons, "This I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves."

Into the breasts of her subjects for nearly two generations the influence of this absolute yet democratic monarch planted and nurtured the liberty loving spirit which English colonists brought to America.

The most dramatic feature of Elizabeth's career, and one which profoundly affected the English colonies, the greatest menace to England in her time was, of course, Spain, under the rule of Philip II—"the shadow of whose gigantic power fell like a deadly blight over Europe." The most monumental service of Elizabeth's reign, not only to England but to America, was the breaking of this power—too gigantic for the world's safety in the hands of any one monarch, and especially dangerous in the hands of a bigot whose duty, as he saw it, was bloodily to stamp out all who differed from him in religious opinion. Prior to the defeat of the Armada, Philip was not only sovereign of Spain itself and its rich

possessions in Mexico, the West Indies, Central and South America, in the Low Countries (now Holland and Belgium), Naples and Sicily and the Duchy of Milan; but of Portugal and the rich Portuguese possessions in the Orient and in Brazil. Through most of Elizabeth's reign she and her subjects were in a virtual state of war with Spain, though without actual declaration. She fought Philip by assisting his rebellious subjects in Holland and the Huguenots in France, by the attacks of her seamen on Spanish shipping in the Atlantic and Pacific, by their destructive raids on Spanish settlements in the West Indies, Central and South America, by such daring feats as that at Cadiz and finally by the fateful victory over the "Invincible Armada." After that Spain was bankrupt and broken. The Elizabethans had done their great work and could now in defiance of Philip's orders, undertake in earnest the Queen's newest enterprise—colonization. It was through the reduction of Philip's power by Queen Elizabeth's soldiers and ships that the United States of today can claim England as mother country instead of Spain.

Voyages of the Spanish galleons to South America, Mexico, and the Indies had added vastly to the wealth and uncanny power of the richest and mightiest monarch in Europe. After the discovery of America, Portugal had been prompt to lay claim to Brazil. The Pope recognized her claim and drew a line on the map of the new world reserving all the rest of America, North and South, to Spain. The gift was taken as seriously by King Philip as if it had been direct from God. Others saw it differently—especially the dauntless English mariners who conceived the idea of crippling Spain by attacking Spanish possessions in the new world. A letter to the Queen believed to have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh's half-brother, Humphrey Gilbert (though the signature has been lost), prays her consent to the destruction of Spanish ships fishing on New Foundland shores and promises: "If you will let us first do this we will next take the West Indies from Spain. You will have the gold and silver mines and the profit of the soil. You will be monarch of the seas and

out of danger from everyone. I will do it if you will allow me; only you must resolve and not delay or dally—the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death."

On the fifteenth of the same month Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth, England, with a fleet of five ships, to strike a blow at Spanish power in America. From the time of the discovery of the new continent, seamen had been spreading through Europe reports of a land rich in all the fruits of the earth, a land inhabited by savages whom it would be a Christian act to subdue and civilize, a land ready for Christians to go and occupy. They added a new chapter to the age-long romance of gold. It seemed that the end of the rainbow had been found in the western world—that the pot of gold was really there. The imagination of the people expanded to take in a new world so vast, so astonishing, so undreamed of, within the world familiar, ships that had hugged the European coasts, not daring to risk the unknown "steep Atlantic," went adventuring to the ends of the enlarged earth. Here and there on wastes of waters whose monotony had been unbroken save by billows piled high and white-capped by lashing winds, the silver wings of ships, singly or in groups, dipped and rose, dipped and rose in and out of the ocean's troughs. They were following the lure of precious metals and jewels to be brought home not only from remote mines beyond the sea, but from plundered galleons. Some of the armour-clad and armed English mariners who sailed such ships were desperate pirates, some of them were men of genius combined with unbounded energy and fearlessness. All of them were men of quickened imagination and curiosity.

Days of search for the Holy Grail were already legendary. The crusades were over. But many of the 16th century mariners were in a sense crusaders, for they were not only engaged in sea-faring battles for Queen and Country, but for the God whom they believed they were serving.

The crew of a light and agile English ship meeting a formidable but more cumbersome Spanish galleon boarded her decks, if possible, murdered her men, if necessary, in order to seize treasure which would give the Queen power to

strengthen State and Church. Human life was a trifle. Courage was everything. In the immortal last words of Sir Humphrey Gilbert before his ship went down, he seems to have given voice to the thought of the time: "Fear not. Heaven is as near by sea as by land." Drake had sailed for the Spanish port, Nombre de Dios, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama, which he described to his men as "the mouth of the treasury of the world," because to this port riches were brought overland each year to be shipped home in Spanish galleons. While in the neighbourhood Drake crossed the Isthmus and looked for the first time on the far stretching waters of the Pacific. He was as deeply moved as was Cortez, who at first sight of that mighty ocean, "fell upon his knees in an ecstasy, of delight, of triumph and devotion," while his comrades "praised God with loud voices." Drake dramatically threw himself upon his knees on the ground and prayed God to let him sail an English ship in those far seas some day. Now, with his fleet of which he commanded the "Pelican," later to become famous as the "Golden Hind," he sailed along the South American coast, through the 360-mile-long Strait of Magellan—narrow, tortuous, and fringed by snow-capped mountains. Before entering the Strait he lost sight, in the icy mazes of the South Atlantic, of his four accompanying ships, but in the tiny, but trusty Golden Hind—100 tons, 20 guns—he emerged into the vastness of the South Pacific and continued his way up the coast, running into ports where the Spaniards (unprepared for the appearance of an English ship) were literally caught napping. He and his sailors seized many bars of silver and gold, chests of coin and jewels a plenty—"never doing a cruel deed," runs the tradition. He sailed northward as far as the coast of California and anchored at Port Reyes, a few miles above San Francisco Bay. He named the region New Albion and "in the name and to the use of Queen Elizabeth, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the country into his own hand." Then he crossed the Pacific, doubled Cape of Good Hope and put in port at Plymouth (from which he had sailed three years before) in September 1580. Friendly breezes

wafted him up the Thames to Deptford where he had the Golden Hind decorated with rich silks and rugs it had brought from the Orient and its table set with captured silver dishes and goblets to banquet his guest, the Queen. Her Majesty not only drank the health of himself and his crew, but knighted, with his own sword, this first brave sailor to carry the English flag around the world.

And what has all this to do with Virginia? the reader asks.

Very much indeed! The diplomacy of Elizabeth and the (mistakenly termed piratical) performances of Sir Francis Drake, of Cavendish, of Frobisher, of Sir John Hawkins and others, in Spanish ports and on the high seas, and the soldiers and sailors who gave England victory over the Spanish Armada, saved Virginia and the other American colonies from the rapacious grasp of Philip II of Spain—saved the harbours and the hills for villages and farmhouses of emigrants of English speech, English thought, English ideals and traditions.

CHAPTER II

RALEIGH'S COLONY

IN 1578 while Drake was still sailing around the world the Queen granted to her "trustie servant Sir Humphrey Gilbert, letters patent to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in actual possession of any Christian prince." With a fleet of seven ships, one of which was commanded by his young half-brother, Walter Raleigh, Gilbert sailed Westward Ho! resolved to found an English Colony in North America. His patent (later renewed to Raleigh) provided that his colonists should have "all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in England." His fleet returned to Plymouth, with only an unsuccessful encounter with Spaniards to report.

In June 1583 he made another attempt with five ships, but they were manned, for the most part, by a worthless crew. He was foredoomed to disaster, notwithstanding the Queen's blessing, delivered to him by Raleigh, with a present from Her Majesty of a golden anchor having a huge pearl at its peak. Elizabeth refused to let Raleigh go in person, but he furnished a ship which bore his name but whose crew soon deserted the rest of the fleet and returned in it to England. The remaining ships made a temporary landing on the coast of New Foundland, where the largest of them was wrecked and most of its crew lost. Stormy, icy weather, and dwindling provisions turned the rest of the fleet back toward England. Gilbert's own small ship was swallowed up by the sea and it was as she sank that he hopefully sang out the words which have passed into a proverb.

It was in the following year—March 26, 1584—that Gilbert's charter to plant a colony in America was renewed to Her Majesty's "trustie and well-beloved servant, Walter Raleigh, Esquire." The Queen was still unwilling to send from her side the accomplished scholar, courtier, and soldier



HAYES BARTON, THE BIRTHPLACE OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH

who had spread his rich mantle on a "plashy place" that she might walk over it dry shod, but out of his own purse, aided by contributions of some merchants and gentlemen, among them his cousin Sir Richard Grenville, he sent two small barks commanded by Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow to explore the North American coast and select a site for the proposed colony.

The indispensable chronicler, Hakluyt, printed a letter delivered to Raleigh by Captain Barlow on his return, reporting discovery of "the part of the country now called Virginia, anno. 1584, . . . after giving thanks to God for our safe arrival thither we manned our boats and went to view the land next adjoining and to take possession of the same in the right of the Queene's most excellent Majestie."

The enthusiastic story pictures a land with "soil the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the world," with friendly natives. Even the difficulty of communicating with these failed to disconcert the visitors. When they enquired the name of the country the reply received was "Wingan—da—coa" Indian for "what pretty clothes you wear," but it was accepted in good faith as the name of the present state of North Carolina.

After delighting the Indians with hatchets, axes, and knives and a "bright tinne dish" which the chief's brother hung around his neck for a breast plate, the Englishmen sailed up the present Albemarle Sound and discovered the island known to the natives as Roanoke.

Captain Barlow's optimistic report charmed the Queen and Raleigh, whom she knighted and rewarded with the monopoly of sweet wines. She named his colony, Virginia, and the people elected him to Parliament.

In the following April Sir Walter sent out a fleet of seven ships with about a hundred men. His royal mistress still forbade him to leave England, and the fleet was commanded by his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville. With it sailed Ralph Lane, a distinguished soldier, as governor of the colony, Thomas Cavendish, who later was to win fame as the second Englishman to sail around the world, John White, a capable

artist, and Thomas Harriot, one of the most scientific men of his time, whose history of the colony is our source of information. Captain Philip Amadas commanded one of the ships and was appointed deputy governor.

The voyage dragged out to three months because Grenville could not resist the capture of Spanish frigates with "rich freight and divers Spaniards of account which afterwards were ransomed for good round summes." The fleet finally cast anchor at Roanoke Island. Grenville promptly returned with his Spanish loot to England, but before sailing lost the colony the friendship of the natives. An Indian stole a silver cup and Grenville punished him and his people by burning one of their villages and their standing corn—a cruel and tactless action for which Raleigh's colonists paid dearly. When their supplies ran low and they watched for provisions from England did not appear their only local source of food supplies, the natives, failed them.

A dismal year passed, spent in exploration of the rivers and coasts. This brought Lane to the decision that the Chesapeake Bay country would make a more desirable place for their colony than the island they had chosen.

Sir Francis Drake had been on one of his raiding voyages. On his way home it occurred to him to call at Roanoke Island and see if he could help the Queen's subjects there. He not only relieved their hunger but, at their earnest request, took them all on board his ships and sailed for their native land. Almost immediately after their departure a relief ship which Raleigh had equipped and sent out arrived, but finding the colonists gone, sailed away home. About two weeks later Grenville returned to the island with a fleet of three ships bringing abundant supplies. He too, finding the colony gone, returned to England, but left behind him fifteen men and provisions for two years. This was in June 1586. In the following spring Raleigh sent out a second colony of one hundred and fifty persons, seventeen of whom were women. John White, the artist, was sent as Governor, with twelve "Assistants," of the City of Roanoke, in Virginia. Most of the rest

of the men were farmers and labourers. They were directed to follow Lane's advice and establish their settlement on Chesapeake Bay, but they stopped at Roanoke for the fifteen men left there and there they remained, though a demolished fort and the bones of the luckless fifteen told a ghastly story of massacre.

The ships arrived on the American coast July 22, 1587, and on August 18 was born Virginia Dare the first American child of English parentage. Her mother was Eleanor, daughter of the artist, Governor John White, and wife of Ananias Dare, one of the "Assistants." When the colony was but one month old White's Assistants persuaded him to return to England to procure from Raleigh further aid for his work. He charged the colonists that if they should move from Roanoke Island in his absence they must leave the name of their destination on door posts or trees, adding a cross if they left in distress.

While Governor White and his colonists had been on their way to Roanoke Drake was off on a new cruise against Spanish power—this time to the harbour of Cadiz, where he played havoc with ships gathered there in preparation for the Invincible Armada and repeated this performance in the Bay of Corunna. Europe was startled and astonished by these feats of "the Dragon" (which he humourously called "singeing the King of Spain's beard") and which delayed the Armada for a year, during which Elizabeth's shipyards had time to prepare a suitable reception of Philip's great fleet. All over England busy camps trained the Queen's soldiers.

When White reached England he found Raleigh in the midst of helping the Queen to make ready for England's defense but he was not indifferent to his colony, and promptly procured and equipped a relief ship for it. This he was not permitted to send out, because all ships were held for the national service. Later he secured two pinnaces with which he started White back, bearing provisions and new colonists. They were chased back to port by Spanish ships. Raleigh and White and others interested in the small group of English men and

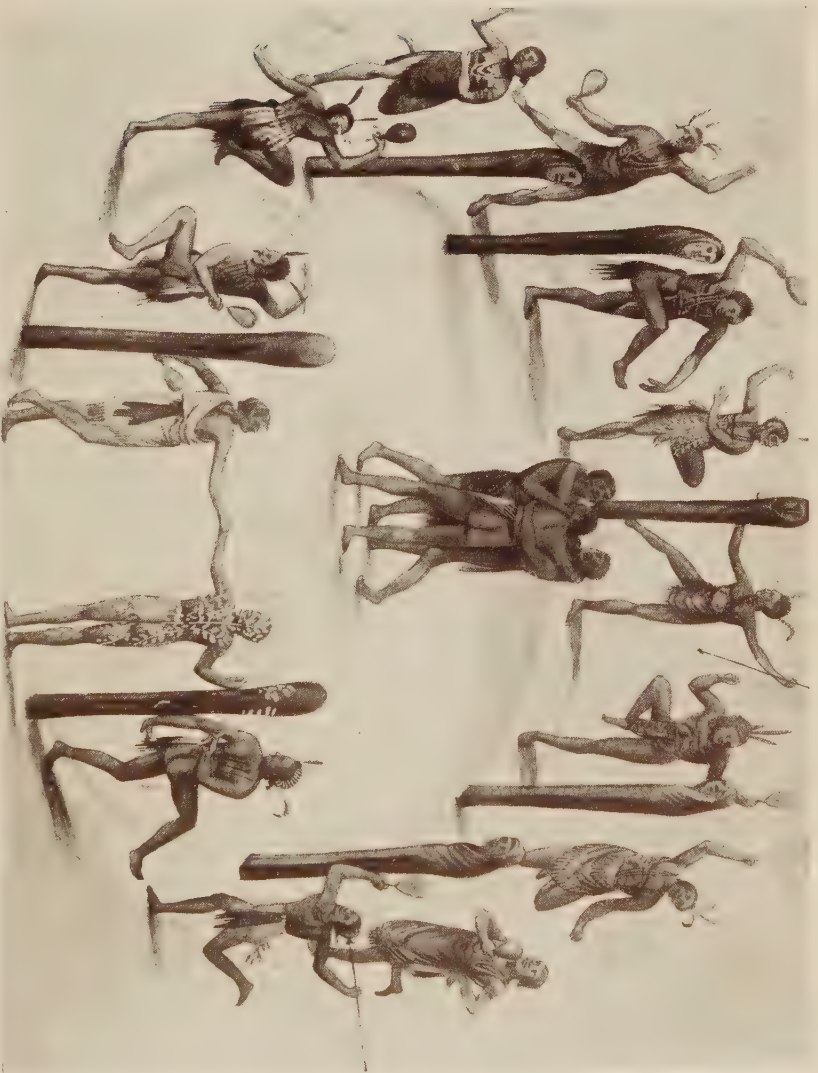
women on the other side of the world could but hope and pray for a time when it would be possible to succour them.

The plan of the Armada was to sail up the Channel to Flanders where the able Spanish General, the Duke of Parma, with his army of seasoned veterans waited to be taken aboard and transported to England, for invasion of a country whose army was made up of raw recruits.

On July 20, the Spanish fleet was sighted at the mouth of the Channel, sailing in a great crescent, driven by a strong southwest wind. The English commander was playing bowls with his Captains on Plymouth Hoe. Drake coolly suggested that there was time to finish the game and beat the Spaniards too, and advised the Admiral to let the Spanish ships pass and the English fleet follow them, with the wind to speed their sails. The stately Armada moved up the Channel with the small but active ships of the English in pursuit, harrassing them with their (for the time) rapid-firing cannon, and preventing all attempts of the superior numbers of Spanish fighting men to board them. On July 26 the Armada anchored at Calais. On July 28, at midnight, the English sent into the fleet eight fire ships, producing chaos. Most of the Spanish ships slipped or cut their cables and sailed toward the North Sea for safety. Next day the disorganized and scattered fleet was severely punished off Gravelines, by the still pursuing English.

Medina Sidonia, commanding the Armada, decided on retreat to Spain, by way of the North Sea, but, aided by the wind, the English fleet was still driving him from the rear. In desperation, the Armada flew north, around Scotland and down the coast of Ireland, leaving a trail of wrecked ships and dead and dying men in its wake. And so back home.

Less than half of the proud ships that had called themselves invincible reached Spain battered, bedraggled, and filled with ill and broken men. In his great disappointment Philip, for once sympathetic, comforted his admiral with: "I sent you to fight against men and not with the winds." Queen Elizabeth, who, in corslet and helmet, and mounted on a



INDIAN DANCE USED AT THEIR "HYGHE FEASTES," AS SEEN BY RALEIGH'S COLONISTS IN 1585

From a drawing by John White, first English artist in America

By Courtesy of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr.

white charger, had galloped about the great camp at Tilbury encouraging her devoted soldiers with glowing speeches, commemorated the victory with a medal picturing, in relief, the tempest driven fleet and inscribed (in Latin), "God blew with his wind and they were scattered."

It should never be forgotten that the defeat of the Armada was one of the chief agencies in making English colonization in America possible.

Not till March 1591 was Governor White able to return to his family and friends on Roanoke Island. Then, three trading ships, sailing for the West Indies, consented to take him as a passenger, and also his supplies, as far as Virginia. The dangerous coast was reached in stormy weather and in attempting to land in one of the ship's boats seven of the "chiefest men" were drowned. "This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandment and persuasion of me and Captain Cooke," says White, "they prepared the Boates." It was night when they anchored near the shore of Roanoke and sounded a call with a trumpet and afterward played "many familiar English tunes of songs and called to them friendly." Having no answer they waited till daybreak to land. They found the fort deserted, "the houses taken down," five chests rifled of everything that Indians could use. Some of White's fine drawings and maps "rotten and spoyled with rayne" and his "armour almost eaten through with rust." Upon a tree were carved the letters C R O and on one of the chief posts at the entrance of the fort "in fayre capitall letters was graven Croatoan, without any crosse or signe of distress." They agreed to "way anchor" and go to the island of Croatan next day. But when morning came the weather "grew to be fowler and fowler." They had lost all but one of their four anchors and also a cask of fresh water, and their "victuals were scarce." White could not persuade the men to tarry longer at Roanoke. They insisted upon going on at once to the West Indies to supply their wants and spend the next winter, but promised

to bring White back to Virginia on their return trip. The promise was not kept, for continued storms drove them back to England. After this Raleigh sent five successive expeditions (the latest in 1603) in search of his lost colony, but no trace of it was ever found.

Not till 1578 was the first patent issued to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in turn failed. In 1584 Gilbert's charter was renewed to Raleigh.

CHAPTER III

THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

RALEIGH'S connection with the settlement at Jamestown, though not one of actual participation was of moral influence powerful enough to make it worthy of remembrance.

His expenditures for the Roanoke Island Colony exhausted his resources. In 1569, as Sir Walter Raleigh, Chief Governor of Virginia, "he sold his rights under his Virginia patent to a company of merchants of London and gentlemen adventurers to Virginia." They included Sir Thomas Smith (heading the list), Richard Hackluyt, Governor John White, of the lost colony, and twenty-six others, a number of whom were afterward connected with the Virginia Company of London. Raleigh gave them one hundred pounds toward planting the Christian religion in Virginia and his promise to petition the Queen to confirm his charter to them. He reserved for himself one-fifth part of any gold and silver ore they should find. wrong
date

But Virginia's time was not yet come. Continued war at sea between England and Spain made the Atlantic Ocean a battlefield and dreams of colonization were still only dreams. Later Raleigh lost favour at court by marrying Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's beautiful young maids of honour, without asking Her Majesty's permission. There was some unsavoury talk regarding the courtship, which let us hope was merely court gossip—especially as the Raleighs made a model married pair. But the Queen was sufficiently offended to recall the knight from an expedition to capture and plunder Spanish shipping and shut him up in the Tower. Soon afterward one of his captains on the expedition—the same Christopher Newport whom we shall presently see as admiral of the fleet which brought the colony of 1607 to Jamestown—captured and took into Dartmouth Harbour the great Spanish carrick *Madre de Dios*, with treasure amounting to something like four million dollars in present-day money. Raleigh turned most of his share of this booty over

to Her Majesty and received his pardon. In 1595 his fancy was caught by the glamorous Spanish tales of El Dorado and he sailed away to look for that mythical country. The result was not a gold mine but a brilliant book, "The Discoverie of Guiana," written amid the enjoyment of a brief period of domestic happiness enlivened by merry nights at the Mermaid Tavern with his friends Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher and others of that shining brotherhood.

In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold, one of Raleigh's captains who was to take a prominent part in the settlement of Jamestown, with thirty-one others (including Gabriel Archer, a Jamestown Councillor to be) went on a voyage sponsored by Henry, Earl of Southampton, Lord Cobham, and others of Raleigh's friends, to the "northermost parts of Virginia." They spent four months on the coast of the present New England, discovered and named Martha's Vineyard, Cape Cod (where they "took great store of cod fish") and carried home to England a new supply of enthusiasm which bore fruit in both Virginia and New England.

In 1603 Queen Elizabeth died and was succeeded by James I—and Sir Walter's star set. Early in the new reign he was suspected of being involved in conspiracies, pronounced guilty, sent to the Tower and kept there thirteen years until March 1616, during which the Jamestown colony was securely planted. Systematic culture of tobacco, which Raleigh had taught Englishmen to smoke, was begun by the Jamestown colonists that year as Virginia's most salable product. Master John Rolfe and his wife Pocahontas arrived in England three months after Raleigh's release and he doubtless saw the much-feted American "princess."

The young Prince Henry, friend and patron of the Virginia Company, and greatly beloved by the colony, was a devoted admirer of Sir Walter's and his frequent visitor in the Tower. His words: "Nobody but my father would keep such a bird in a cage," have their place in every history of the life of either the king or the knight.

Though Raleigh produced his famous History of the World

and other works during his long imprisonment, his desire for freedom finally became so desperate that he promised James to find him (in return for release) a gold mine in Guiana, without attacking Spanish possessions. Owing to James's betrayal of him to Spaniards, the expedition was a failure and cost the brilliant knight his head, on October 19, 1618—nine months before the colony which had been the unfulfilled dream of his life began self government. Though he had been able to take no active part in the work of the Virginia Company he never lost interest in the colony and had said that he hoped yet "to see it an English nation."

There are evidences that the voyages to the "northmost parts of Virginia" (beginning with that of Gosnold), largely under the influence of Raleigh's friends, led directly to formation of the Virginia Company of London.

For years great stock companies for trade in foreign countries had been becoming more and more popular. Names of merchant princes and other rich men who "adventured" their money in one such company were to be found on the subscription lists of others.

But the Virginia Company was not merely a trading company. The charters, from those of Gilbert and Raleigh down, provided for colonization—building up of Virginia of communities of English people governed by England who should retain their citizenship in England, subject to the laws of English Church and State, living according to English customs and fashions; the first of the many colonies to contribute to the up-building of the great British Empire and carry English thought and ways into every part of the habitable world.

The general interest in colonization was shown by the popularity of the comedy "Eastward Ho!" by Chapman, Marston, and Ben Jonson. It was acted in 1605 and when published late in the same year ran through four editions between September and Christmas. Nine years later—on Christmas Day 1614—it was acted before James I and His Majesty laughed as he doubtless had laughed many times before over the uproarious scenes between Seagull, Spendall, Scapethrift,

and Sir Petronel Flash, the Virginian colonel who had bestowed all the money he could "anyway get" on "a ship now bound for Virginia," had heard Captain Seagull describe to the eager Spendall and Scapethrift the wealth of Virginia "where I tell thee, gold is more plentiful than copper with us. Why man all their dripping pans . . . are pure gold. And all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massy gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the seashore and stick in their children's caps as commonly as our children wear saffron-gilt brooches and groats with holes in 'em." He had heard Sir Petronel order supper brought to "Sir Francis Drake's ship" (then used as a banquet room) "that hath compassed the world where with full cups and banquets we will do sacrifice for a prosperous voyage."

Zuñiga, the Spanish Ambassador to England, sent King Philip III a report of the preparations for the Virginia colony, in form of a dispatch in cipher, but the time for England to fear Spain's interference with her plans was past.

James issued Virginia's first charter on April 10, 1606.

Its area was described as extending from the seashore one hundred miles inland, but a second charter in 1609, extended its width from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Its length was from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel or from the present Columbia, South Carolina, to Canada.

Within this area were to be planted a First Colony—in the southern half—and a Second Colony, in the northern half. The grant of the Southern Colony was expressly to "Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hakluyt, clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward Maria Wingfield, adventurers of and for our city of London and all such others as are or shall be joined unto them of that colony which shall be called the first Colony."

Each colony was to have its council of thirteen persons and each council should have its own seal, bearing "the King's arms engraven on the one side thereof and his portraiture on the other." There should also be a council of thirteen "estab-



SIR GEORGE SOMERS

lished here in England to be called the King's Council of Virginia," to have "the superior managing and direction" of the twin colonies. Members of the English Council were to be appointed by the King—this "King's Council" to appoint the first members of the local Colonial Councils which afterward were to be self-perpetuating. Among the "others" of the founders of the first colony were Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York—and a brother of George Sandys, the poet, who in 1621 came to Virginia in person and was treasurer of the colony.

As the stockholders and councillors of the southern colony were of London and its neighbourhood, they were known as the London Company, or the Virginia Company of London, while those interested in the northern colony, who were from Plymouth or its neighbourhood, were the Plymouth Company. The rights and privileges of both colonies were exactly the same. They were authorized to search for and mine metals, of which certain proportions were to be reserved to the crown; to coin money; to carry over as many of the King's subjects "as shall willingly accompany them, with things necessary for themselves and their plantations, including armour, weapons, and ammunition; to resist and seize any who without special license should attempt to settle in the said colonies and all persons not of the same colony found trafficking in the colonies until they should pay or agree to pay duty of 2½ per cent value of anything bought or sold. If not English subjects they were to pay 5 per cent." The benefits of these duties were to go to the colonies for twenty-one years and afterward to the King. They were empowered to transport from England and Ireland "goods, chattels, armour, munition, and furniture," for seven years without duty. The colonists and children born in the colonies were to "have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities of British subjects as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England."

Land was to be granted to contributing members, or "adventurers," in England, and to settlers, who were also known as "adventurers," in Virginia.

The persons named in the charter as sponsors for both the first colony and the second made a distinguished group. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were brave soldiers. Gates had been knighted for gallantry in the battle of Cadiz and Somers for his services as a commander in naval expeditions against the Spaniards. Captain Edward Maria Wingfield, of Stoneleigh Priory, was of an old and honoured Catholic family, and was also a veteran of the Low Country Wars. His middle name was given him in memory of Queen Mary who was his father's godmother. Rev. Richard Hakluyt, who sleeps in Westminster Abbey, was one of the Elizabethans to whom students of all time are most deeply indebted for the great light his writings throw on exploration, colonization, adventure and life of his day. Among the "others" were Sir Thomas Smith the first head—with the title of Treasurer—of the London Company, and Sir Edwin Sandys the great Treasurer of the Company who succeeded him. Smith was one of the group to whom Raleigh had assigned his rights in Virginia. He too, had been knighted for bravery at Cadiz. He had served as a member of Parliament and as ambassador to Russia, was a patron of Arctic exploration, and in 1600 had been chosen first governor of the East India Company. Now he was to give handsomely of his fortune, as well as his time and ability, to the Virginia Company of London.

Sir Edwin Sandys was to be a useful friend of the Mayflower Pilgrims as well as an invaluable one to the Jamestown Colony. It is interesting to remember that he was related by marriage to the Washingtons of Sulgrave Manor, the ancestors of our first president. The personnel of the Plymouth Company was equally distinguished.

Though the southern settlement was named in the charter as the First Colony, the earliest attempt was made by the Plymouth Company. On August 12, 1606, Captain Henry Challons sailed in the ship, *Richard*, of Plymouth for the "North Plantation of Virginia." He took the popular southern route across the Atlantic but "by unhappy hap fell amongst Spanish ships," and never reached Virginia. A few months later the Plymouth Company sent out another ship, Martin

Pring, Master, who explored North Virginia and carried back an encouraging report but made no settlement. Five days before Christmas the London Company sent out the fleet which planted the Jamestown Colony in the May following. On the last day of this same month of May, 1607, the Plymouth Company sent out two more ships—the *Gift of God*, Captain George Popham and the *Mary and John*, Captain Raleigh Gilbert (son of Sir Humphrey and namesake of Raleigh) with one hundred settlers. They chose a site in Maine, built a fort, a storehouse, a church (which soon burned down), and a ship, named *Virginia*, which took a majority of the colonists home to England. Those that remained had a hard, cold winter that killed their enthusiasm. In the spring of 1608 what was left of the colony returned home carrying the discouraging report that North Virginia was “not habitable for Englishmen.” When the “Northermost parts of Virginia” finally became New England it was not under the charter of 1606.

In addition to the charter, other documents outlining the government of the proposed colonies show the importance with which they were regarded in England. “The Instructions of the King” said to have been “engrossed fairely in a Book as a record for the good Order and Government of the two several Colonies and Plantations to be made by our loving subjects in the country commonly called Virginia,” bears date Nov. 20, 1606—one month before the Jamestown colonists set sail. In it the “trusty and well beloved” gentlemen—nine knights, two esquires, and three merchants, who were to compose the King’s Council of Virginia, in England, are named and given authority to appoint members of the first local councils of the two Virginia colonies to serve for the first year of their residence in the colonies. These councils were to hear and determine all civil causes and to make laws. Law breakers were to be tried by jury before the Council and its president. “The true word of God and Christian faith” must be “preached, planted and used, not only within the colonies but, as much as they may, amongst the Savage peo-

ple." And they were to treat the savages kindly. In the "Orders of His Majesty's Council for Virginia for the better government of those now bound for that coast," is the earliest mention of the three historic little ships: "The good ship called the *Sarah Constant* and the ship called the *Good-speed*, with a pinnace called the *Discovery* now ready victualled, rigged, and furnished for the said voyage. . . . Captain Christopher Newport" is given "sole charge and command of the fleet" and of "all the captains, soldiers and mariners and other persons that shall go in any of the said ships or pinnace." There was a curious variation in the names of the two larger ships which were familiarly mentioned as "*Susan*" *Constant* and "*Godspeed*." In the orders, Captain Newport with Captains Gosnold and Ratcliffe were given charge of a box, "close sealed with the council's seal," containing the names of those appointed "by His Majesties Council in England to compose His Majesties Counsel in the said country of Virginia." This prize box was to be opened by its three guardians "within four and twenty hours" after the arrival in Virginia, "and the names of the council made known." The council should then elect from its number a president who should immediately take oath of office as "President for His Majestie's Counsel for the first colony planted or to be planted in any of the territories of America between the degrees of 34 and 41 from the equinoctial line northward and the trades thereof." Captain Newport and those under his command were given still another document containing advice of the King's Council—an able paper full of practical sense, breathing the spirit of a dignified, important undertaking. Its authors were providing for the planting in the New World of a section of England, with England's orderly government, manners, and religion, whose object was to contribute to the Mother Country's wealth, greatness, and safety. Its founders were requested to send back a "perfect relation" of all that was done, but to "suffer no man to write any letter of anything that may discourage others."

The "advice" closes with this noble paragraph: "Lastly

and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

CHAPTER IV

THE VOYAGE AND SETTLEMENT

Britons, you stay too long,
Quickly aboard bestow you,
And with a merry gale
Swell your stretch'd sayle,
With vowes as strong
As the winds that blow you.

* * * * *

And cheerfully at sea,
Successe you still intice,
To get the pearle and gold
And ours to hold,
Virginia,
Earth's only Paradise.

* * * * *

And in regions farre,
Such heroes bring yee forth
As those from whom we came
And plant our name
Under that starre
Not knowne unto our north.

From "Ode to the Virginia Voyage," by Michael Drayton, Poet Laureate.

ON SATURDAY, December 20, 1606, the *Sarah Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery* lay at anchor at the head of a great bend in the Thames opposite the busy section of London's water-front known then and now as Blackwall. The present Blackwall Pier did not then exist and ships did not take cargoes and passengers while lying alongside a wharf, but received them from barges and small boats.

The groups of "gentlemen" and "others" who strolled about the decks of the ships bound for Virginia looking as if they had stepped out of a Shakespearean play, took boat at Blackwall stairs—now a small landing place for coal, oil and

other heavy freights. On the landward side of the stairs and pier there is now a maze of railway tracks, warehouses, and great docks that play their part in the vast trade of London, whose port was then a forest of the masts of white-winged ships which swarmed to it from every part of the world.

Divided among the three Virginia ships were men (there were no women with this first fleet) listed under three heads—gentlemen, carpenters, and labourers. Wingfield was along, and Bartholomew Gosnold, and Archer (who had been with Gosnold to New England) and so was George Percy, a younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland. One of the uses of colonization was to take care of “younger brothers.” And so was Captain John Smith—widely travelled, world-experienced hero of many adventures—the son of a homekeeping yeoman whose will shows him to have been a worthy and substantial citizen of his class. Rev. Robert Hunt, beloved and admired of all, sailed as chaplain of the fleet.

Ships in those days were dependent upon the trade winds which blow from the tropical belts of high pressure toward the equatorial belt of low pressure from the northeast in the Northern Hemisphere and from the southwest in the Southern. By reason of these winds and the ocean currents, the voyage to Virginia was southward, by way of the Canary Islands. The fleet fell down the Thames to the Downs, but was compelled by contrary winds to anchor there, “where we suffered great storms, but by the skilfullness of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger.” There was dissension and all sorts of discomfort, including seasickness and evil smells, in the crowded, storm-tossed ships, during the six weeks they were kept in sight of England, and many of the company would have given up the voyage but for the “true devoted example” of Parson Hunt who was made so “weake and sicke” by the rough weather that “few expected him to recover,” yet “all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the business.”

They were at last under way! After a stop at the Canaries for fresh water they sailed for the West Indies and anchored there, at Dominica, where they traded with the Indian inhabit-

ants for food—giving them knives, hatchets, and beads for pineapples, plantains, potatoes, tobacco, and “other fruits,” and for cloth which had been salvaged from Spanish wrecks.

On March 28 the colonists anchored at the Island of Nevis where for the health of the men they camped six days and were able to save their “ship’s victual . . . by reason our men went some a hunting, some a fowling and some a fishing.” It was on one of these islands that John Smith was arrested, charged by Wingfield with muttyny, “though” (says Purchas in “His Pilgrimes,” in a marginal note) “never no such matter.” Smith himself says, “Such factions here we had as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallows was made; but Captain Smith, for whom they were intended, could not be persuaded to use them.” The absurd false charge was that Smith plotted (on arrival in Virginia) to murder the Council and make himself king there, and that he had confederates dispersed through the fleet to help him carry out this design.

Information of this imaginary conspiracy was evidently given by Wingfield who being better known to Newport than Smith and of superior social position, obtained a hearing that resulted in Smith’s arriving in Virginia under arrest. On September 10, at Jamestown, Wingfield was deposed from presidency of the Council, on charges of misgovernment. He was arrested, convicted and committed a prisoner to the Pinnace. Among other things brought against him at his trial, September 17, was the false charge against Smith to whom, according to Wingfield’s own written and published statement, the jury gave “Two hundred pounds damages for slander.” But there is no evidence that Wingfield paid it or was able to pay it. He says:

“Then Master Recorder (Gabriel Archer) did very learnedly comfort me that if I had wrong I might bring my writ of error in London; whereat I smiled.”

But to return to the fleet. On April 21, a “vehement tempest” proved a friend in disguise to the colonists, for “God, the guider of all good actions did drive them by his providence to their desired port.” It was on April 26, at four

o'clock in the morning that they joyfully "descried the Land of Virginia."

That day they entered the famous Chesapeake Bay. "Indeed it is a goodly Bay and a fairer not easily to be found." (Strachey's words.) "That night was the box opened and the orders read in which Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendali were named to bee of the Councill and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should governe."

They landed and discovered "nothing worth speaking of but faire meddowes and goodly tall trees, with such Fresh Waters running through the woods as I [Percy] was almost ravished at the first sight thereof." That night as they returned to their ships they made a less pleasing discovery—Indians, naturally hostile to strange invaders of their country. The red men "came creeping, upon all fours, from the hills"—evidently the sand dunes—"like bears." They carried "bows in their mouths and charged us very desperately in the faces." They "wounded Captain Archer in both hands" and "a sailor in two places of the body, very dangerously." Finally, "after they had spent their arrows and felt the sharpness of our shot they retired into the woods with a great noise."

But the newcomers had been given something to think of, though they little dreamed that there had begun a contest between red man and white man, for possession of the land of Virginia, to last nearly two centuries.

Two days were spent in exploring, both on land and (in a shallop) on sea. Old Point Comfort was discovered and given the name it bears today, because its harbour "put us in good comfort." On April 29, the colonists set up a cross near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay and "named that place Cape Henry, in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of land there is a white, hilly sand like unto the Downs and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres"—a good description of the sand dunes and woods of Cape Henry today.

On April 30, at Point Comfort, they found some friendly Indians from the settlement of Kecoughtan (present Hampton). They were "very timersome" until Captain Newport laid his hand on his heart when they put aside their bows and arrows and, in sign language, invited the strangers to come ashore to their village, which the strangers did and were "entertained by them very kindly, with feasting, smoking huge pipes of tobacco, singing and dancing." Captain Newport rewarded them with beads and other trifles. Now see the Englishmen during the days that followed being visited and entertained by other curious, admiring tribes.

Newport, not wishing to settle on so open a road as Cape Henry or Point Comfort, "plied," in the shallop, up the River—Powhatan, or King's River, which he had discovered and renamed in honour of King James. Peering at the wooded shores to left and right of him as he moved along, he sought the securest place for settlement, and that which "might give the least cause of offense or distaste . . . to the natives." The *Sarah Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery* followed his boat up the river. Now and then the newcomers landed and were entertained in grotesque fashion by painted, dancing natives—sometimes led by a Werowance (or Chief) playing a flute. On May 13, in the "Paspahaigh's" country, but in a region which seemed to be least inhabited by the Indians of any tribe, they saw "a kinde of peninsula fastened to the mainland by a very slender neck and thrusting out into the midst of the channel." There seemed to be no inhabitants within seven or eight miles. This was chosen for the site of Jamestown. The trumpet sounded. The three ships came to anchor and were able to lie so near the shore that they were moored to the trees in six fathom water. On the day before had been discovered a more desirable site—because on higher ground, to which had been given the name of Archer's Hope. But it has been discarded because there "the ships could not ride near the shore." On making choice of a site, the Company's instruction warning against low ground had been disregarded. Newport was a practical man. The apparent ease with which the peninsula selected could be

defended against the Indian enemy and deep water for the fleet so close to shore seemed to counterbalance other objections. He little suspected the deadliness of the malaria-bearing mosquito enemy which lurked by millions in the swamps that looked like fair green meadows, or the deadly disease germs that lurked by billions in the brackish drinking water.

On May 14 the colony disembarked and every man brought ashore "his particular store and furniture, together with the general provision." The Chaplain, Hunt, dedicated the spot to the glory of God, and they "began thereon . . . in the name of God to raise a fortresse."

Then the Council was sworn in, Wingfield chosen President and an oration made why Captain Smith was not admitted to the Council as the rest.

"Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents, some provide clapboard to relade the ships (to send to England) some make gardens, some nets."

In a month and a day the fort was built—from May 14 to June 15. It was both a fort and a camp and as soon as houses could replace tents it was a fort and a town—for the whole colony was established within its palisades. It was triangular in shape—the south side, next the river one hundred and forty yards long, the east and west sides one hundred yards. At each corner was built "a bulwarke or watch tower," with several pieces of artillery mounted in each one. Strachey, describing Jamestown a year later, says that on each side of the triangle within the palisade "a streete of houses runs along so as each line of the angle hath his streete." "In the midst" was a market place, a storehouse, a guardhouse, and a chapel. Before the chapel [or church] was built, a board was nailed between two trees for a reading desk and a sail stretched over it to "shadow" the worshippers from the sun and there Parson Hunt preached twice each Sunday.

Percy says that by the time the fort was finished, they had sown most of their corn and it had sprung a man's height from the ground.

The Indians watched the building of the fort with uneasy

interest, coming full-armed with bow and quiver, singly, or in groups, to offer hospitality and (in sign language) beg the visitors to lay their guns aside. But the newcomers were wary. The fort was called both James Fort and James City, in honour of the king.

Another was narrowly watching, in England, every step of the Virginia Company. Don Pedro de Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador to England, reported to his king in letters written in cipher every item of news or gossip of the Virginia settlement that he could capture. On March 8, 1607, the Spanish king wrote to Zuñiga “. . . You will report to me what the English are doing in the matter of Virginia, and if the plan progresses which they contemplate, of sending men there, and ships, and thereupon it will be taken into consideration here what steps had best be taken to prevent it.” Six days later Philip III held a consultation with his Council as to what should be done to prevent the English from founding colonies in America. Over and over again Zuñiga urges Philip to take prompt measures to “root out” the English in Virginia.

There is little doubt that every ship that sailed from England to Virginia during the early years of the colony carried Spanish spies.

Though Captain Smith was not yet admitted to the Council he was no longer under arrest. While the Fort was building, Newport took him and twenty others, including Councillors Percy and Archer, in the shallop, provisioned for a voyage, on a tour of discovery up King's River. More or less detailed stories of the expedition were written by Smith, Percy, and Archer. They passed several Indian villages and finally, at the falls, the site of the present Richmond, above which the river ceases to be navigable, reached a settlement called Powhatan, consisting of “twelve houses pleasantly seated on a hill.” This was the residence of Little Powhatan, a chief subordinate to the great Powhatan, the chief of a confederacy of Indian tribes inhabiting a large area of Virginia. The dwellers in the villages passed entertained the explorers with feasting, music, and dancing, but by excited gesticulations emphatically discouraged their attempting to explore the



THE FIRST COMMUNION AT JAMESTOWN

A memorial in bronze to Rev Robert Hunt, Chaplain of the First Volunteers, now in the Hunt Shrine at Jamestown

country above the falls. Captain Newport thinking it the part of policy to please Little Powhatan, agreed. "So upon one of the little Isletts at the mouth of the falls he set up a Crosse with this inscription:

JACOBUS REX, 1607,

and his own name below."

"At the erection hereof we prayed for our kyng and our own prosperous success in this his Actyon, and proclaymed him king, with a great shoute." They had hoped to find a short passage to the Pacific Ocean.

The shallop and its passengers returned to Jamestown on May 27, to find that the day before two hundred Indians led by their king had attacked the fort and wounded eleven men—one of whom died—and killed a boy. Four of the Council who had stood in front of James Fort to defend it, were wounded and President Wingfield had an arrow shot "cleane through his bearde, yet scaped hurte." The colonists had given their assailants musket shot in return for stone-barbed arrows and had "killed dyvers of them." —160

For several weeks, however, they were harassed by the Indians who would hide in tall weeds and grass near the fort and pick off their victims with arrows. Cutting down the weeds brought relief.

"The good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher, Maister Hunt" made peace between Smith and his detractors and on June 20, Smith was permitted to take his seat in the Council.

Next day, Sunday, "the 3rd after Trinity, all received the Communion" and the day following the Indians "voluntarily desired peace." On this day of harmony Captain Newport embarked in the *Sarah Constant*, taking with him the first eagerly looked for news of the colony. He had dined in the fort with the colonists that day and had many of them to a farewell supper on shipboard before sailing away home, leaving them the only civilized inhabitants of a wilderness occupied by wild Indians. Newport had seen no gold nor jewels in Virginia, but he had seen men shaking with chills and ill unto death with fever. In the hold of the *Sarah Constant*

was nothing more valuable than Virginia timber and sassafras root. But he was determined to make as encouraging a story as he could of the goodly forests filled with game and the river with fish.

The white wings of the *Constant* have entirely disappeared beyond a bend in the river. No use to strain eyes any longer for a last glimpse of them.

Here is the very first letter ever written from Jamestown—the report from the Council in Virginia to the Council of the Virginia Company in England carried home by Captain Christopher Newport in the “good ship *Sarah Constant*”:

Within less than seven weeks we are fortified well against the Indians. We have sown good store of wheat—we have sent you a taste of clapboard—we have built some houses—we have spared some to a discovery, and still as God shall enable us with strength we will better and better our proceedings.

Our easiest and richest commodity being Sasafriz roots were gathered up by the Sailors with loss and spoil of many of our tools and with drawing of our men from our labour. (Sassafras root was used for making sassafras tea believed to be “very wholesome for the preservation of man’s health” on long sea voyages.) We wish that they may be dealt with so that all the loss neither fall on us nor them. I believe they have thereof two tunnes at least which if they scatter abroad at their pleasure will pull down our price for a long time, we leave this to your wisdomes. The land would flow with milk and honey if seconded by your carefull wisdomes and bountifull hands. (In characteristically figurative phrase the Company is assured of the hope to make a good return for all the money it may invest.) We do not persuade (you) to shoot one arrow to seek another, but to find them both. And we doubt not but to send them home with golden heads. . . .

We are set down 80 miles within a River for breadth, sweetness of water, length navigable up into the country, deep and bold channell so stored with sturgeon and other sweet fish as no man’s fortune hath ever possessed the like. . . . The soil is most fruitfull, laden with good Oake, Ashe, Walnut tree, Poplar, Pine, sweet woods, Cedar, and others yet without names that yeald gums pleasant as Frankincense and experienced amongst us for great vertue in healing green wounds and aches. We entreat your succours with all expedition least that all devouring Spaniard lay his ravenous hands upon these gold showing mountains . . . which if we be so enabled he shall never dare to think on. This note doth make known where our necessities do most strike us, we beseech your present relief accordingly, otherwise to our greatest and lasting griefes, we shall against our will not will that which we most willingly would.

Captaine Newport hath seen all and knoweth all, he can fully satisfy your further expectations and ease you of our tedious letters. We must humbly pray the heavenly King’s hand to bless our labours with such counsailes and helps as we may further and stronger proceed in this our King’s and countrie’s service. Jamestowne in Virginia this 22th day of June 1607.

Your Poore Friends,

EDWARD MARIA WINGFIELD
JOHN SMITH
JOHN MARTINE

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD
JOHN RATCLIFFE
GEORGE KENDALL

CHAPTER V

VOYAGE AND SETTLEMENT CONTINUED

AND now the colonists are face to face with a new enemy—Famine. During their voyage across the Atlantic, which contrary winds had strung out to five long months, all of the Virginia Company's provision for them (save what was reserved for use of the crew on their return to England) had been consumed, and they had not been in Virginia long enough to raise crops. Did the Company believe they were going to a land where food could be gathered from bushes? So long as the fleet was moored to the trees, the sailors would pilfer the ships' biscuit to sell or give to the settlers, or "exchange with us for money, saxafras, fures or love." But after they sailed away "there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of reliefe but the common kettell. Had we been as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for Saints, but our President would never have admitted the charge" (made by Smith and denied by Wingfield) of "ingrossing to his private use Otemeale, sacke, oile, aquavita, beefe, eggs or what not, but the kettel; that indeede he allowed equally to be distributed." The "common kettell" was the regular ration—"halfe a pinte of wheat and as much barley, boyled with water for a man a day. . . . Our drink was water; our lodgings castles in the air."

Until September those that survived lived chiefly on fish—especially sturgeon. "Fifty in this time we buried." Malaria, dysentery and famine had combined to cut their original number in half and the strength and energy of most of those that were left were reduced to a minimum. They drank the river water "which was at a flood verie salt; at a low tide, full of slime and filthe; which was the destruction of many of our men."

Captain Smith who had early "tasted the extremitie" of the country's sickness" but quickly rebounded was up and

doing to save the colonists and make them save themselves. He was a disciplinarian of iron will and iron constitution, who did not admit physical weakness and suffering as an excuse for shirking work on which the life of the colony depended.

Says Percy: "If there were any conscience in men it would make their hearts to bleed to hear the pitifull murmurings and outcries of our sick men without reliefe . . . some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night; in the morning, their bodies being trailed out of their Cabins like Dogges to be buried.

"It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies, to relieve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish and Flesh in great plentie; which was the setting up our feeble men; otherwise we all had perished. Also we were frequented by divers kings in the countrie, bringing store of provision to our great comfort."

It was the Indians' harvest time and they brought its fruits to trade with the white man for his fascinating hatchets and knives, blue beads and copper earrings. Percy gives us a partial list of the luckless fifty:

"The sixth of August there died John Asbie, of the bloudie flixe.

"The Ninth day, died George Flowre, of the swelling.

"The Tenth day, died William Bruster Gentleman, of wounds given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day.

"The fourteenth day Jerome Alipock, Ancient [Ensign], died of a wound. The same day, Francis Midwinter [and] Edward Moris, Corporall, died suddenly.

"The fifteenth day, there died Edward Browne and Stephen Galthorpe.

"The sixteenth day there died Thomas Mounslie.

"The seventeenth day there died Robert Pennington and John Martine, Gentleman.

"The nineteenth day died Drue Piggase, Gentleman.

"The two and twentieth day of August died Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, one of our Councill; he was honourably

buried, having all the ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many vollies of small shot.

“The foure and twentieth day died Edward Harrington and George Walker; and were buried the same day.

“The sixe and twentieth day died Kenelme Throgmortine.

“The seven and twentieth day died William Roods.

“The eight and twentieth day died Thomas Studly, Cape Merchant.

“The Fourth day of September died Thomas Jacob, Sergeant.

“The fift there died Benjamin Beast.

“Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases, as swellings, Flixes, Burning Fevers, and by warres; and some departed suddenly; but for the most part they died of meere famine. . . The eighteenth day died one Ellis Kinistone. . . .

“The same day at night, died one Thomas Mouton.”

Percy’s account and Smith’s corroborate each other. Wingfield, too, writing toward the end of August says:

“Sickness had not now left us VI able men in our Towne.” For once these three are in agreement. From their evidence, it is not surprising that the building of Jamestown progressed slowly. Smith praises the skilful diligence of Dr. Thomas Wotton, surgeon general, but malaria was rampant and quinine unknown. At length fall weather came to the aid of the colony, which began to show improvement in health.

The still ailing Ratcliffe turned most of his authority over to Smith who was “newly recovered” and who “set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe always bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe.”

Now food became acutely scarce again and on November 9, Smith with six or seven seamen set out in the faithful shallop to trade with the Indians for provisions. He rowed down the river to Kecoughtan (Hampton), where “seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had he was by necessitie inforced, though contrary to his commission to let fly his muskets.” The Indians “fled into the woods” and Smith and

his men ran the boat on shore and went to their houses where they saw "great heapes of corne." Smith restrained his hungry men from helping themselves but "sixtie or seventie" Indians painted various colours came singing and dancing out of the woods bearing their Okee (idol) before them and charged the colonists with clubs, bows and arrows. They were "so kindly received with muskets loaden with pistoll shot that down fell their god and divers lay sprawling on the ground. The rest fled againe to the woods" and soon sent one of their chiefs to sue for peace. Smith made signs to them that "if only six of them would come unarmed and loade his boat he would not only be their friend but restore their Okee and give them Beads, Copper and Hatchets besides. Which was done, and in exchange for his toys they brought him "venison, Turkeys, wild fowle, bread and whatever they had."

"Thus God unboundlesse by his power,
Made them thus kind, would us devour,"

quaintly comments Captain Smith.

Smith next ordered that the pinnance (the *Discovery*) be provided with articles used in trade with the natives to secure provisions for the new year. While this was being done he made, in the shallop, several trips of discovery and trade in the Chickahominy country. In his absence Wingfield and Kendall of the Council were accused of plotting to strengthen themselves with the sailors and other confederates and run off in the pinnace to England. Kendall was convicted by jury and shot. President Ratcliffe and Captain Gabriel Archer also plotted to abandon the colony, but were prevented. Smith found plenty of corn on the Chickahominy River which flows into the James not far above Jamestown. There "hundreds of salvages in divers places stood with baskets expecting his coming." It is pleasant to record this cheerful note: "And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, ducks and cranes, that we daily feasted, with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, putchamines, fish, fowle, and divers sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eate them."

Smith soon set out again to trade with the Chickahominies and discover the head of their river. He rowed as far as possible in his shallop and then with two English and two Indian guides took a canoe and proceeded up stream. He left his boat in "a broad bay out of danger of shot" and ordered that none of the men left aboard should go ashore, but they disobeyed him and one of them, George Cassen, was killed by an Indian.

This brings us to the most famous episode in the life of Captain John Smith and one of the most romantic in the story of Virginia. Smith says he was "far away at the river head when his two men, John Robinson and Thomas Emry, were slaine . . . whilst himselfe, by fowling, sought them vidual. . . . Finding he was beset by 200 salvages, two of them he slew and defended himself from the rest by binding one of the Indian guides to his arm with his garters and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in the thigh a little and had many arrowes that stuck in his cloathes, but no great hurt till at last they took him prisoner." He presented his captor, Opechancanough, brother of Powhatan, and king of the Pamunkey Indians, with a compass. "Much they marvelled at the playing of the Fly and Needle which they could see so plainly and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that globe-like jewell the roundness of the earth and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually" . . . they stood "amazed with admiration."

Within an hour afterward they tied him to a tree and crowded around him to shoot him but Opechancanough held up the compass and they all laid down their "Bowes and Arrowes" and led him to Orapaks (in the present New Kent County) where he was "kindly feasted and well used." Orapaks was a village, or camp, of "thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of mats which they remove as they please as we our tents." Here in the presence of the women and children the braves entertained their captive with a fantastic drill, then "cast themselves into a ring" dancing and "yelling out

hellish sounds." They were strangely painted and each one carried his quiver of arrows and club at his back and his bow in his hand. Each wore on his head the dried skin of a bird, with wings spread, a piece of copper, a white shell or long feather with a rattlesnake's rattle, "or some such toy," tied to it. After the departure of the dancers Smith was taken to a long house and placed under guard of "thirtie or fortie tall Indians."

So much bread, venison and other food was set before him that he thought they "would fat him to eat him." A few days later they tried to bribe Smith with promise of "life, liberty, land and women," if he would advise them as to the best way of attacking Jamestown. On a sheet of paper from a writing tablet he had with him, he wrote a warning to the people in the fort, of the Indians' plans, with a list of things he had promised the Indians, which he requested should be sent him by the bearers of his letter. They returned bearing the promised gifts "with no small expedition"—to the wonder of all that heard it that he could "either divine or the paper could speak."

The resourceful captive was led up and down the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers and exhibited and entertained in the villages of the various tribes along the banks of those and other rivers. At length they took him to Werowocomico, principal seat of the great Powhatan on the shores of York River. "Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him as he had beene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Enthroned upon a seat like a beadstead, in front of a fire, clad in a great robe of raccoon skins with all the tails hanging by," the red-skinned Virginia king received the bearded, pale-faced guest and prisoner, who was presented to his unique court. "On each side of the Chief sat a young Indian girl. Along each side of the room were two rows of men and behind them the same number of women with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their heads were bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something; and a great chayne of white beads about their

necks." At Smith's entrance before the king, "all the people gave a great shoute. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers instead of a towel to dry them. Having feasted him after the best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them and thereon laid his head and being ready with their clubs to beate out his braines, Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her arms, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets and her bells, beads and copper."

This was January 5, 1608. Five days later Smith was formally adopted into the tribe with the following ceremony: "Powhatan having disguised himself in the most fearfulest manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devill than a man, with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came unto him and told him now they were friends and presently he should goe to Jamestowne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would give him the Country of Capahowsick" (on the north side of York River) and for ever esteeme him as his sonne Nantaquond," whom Smith describes as "the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a Salvage."

"So to Jamestowne with 12 guides," Powhatan sent his prisoner. They "quartered in the woods" that night (Jan. 7, 1608), Smith still "expecting every houre to be put to one death or other" but he says, "Almightie God by his divine providence had mollified the hearts of those sterne Barbarians with compassion," and he was spared.

Next morning (Jan. 8) they arrived at the fort "betimes" and Smith showed Powhatan's messengers two small cannon

and a millstone. They found the guns too heavy to carry, especially after Smith had loaded them with stones and discharged them among the branches of a great tree laden with icicles. The ice and branches came tumbling down and "the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare." But some "toyes" regained their confidence and they were sent back to Powhatan with such presents for himself, his women and children as gave them full "content."

After that "every once in foure or five dayes" Pocahontas with her attendants brought food to Jamestown that saved the lives of many of the colonists who but for her would have "starved with hunger."

During Smith's lifetime and for more than two hundred years after his death it never occurred to anyone to question the story of his rescue by Pocahontas. Everyone then in Virginia and many in England knew that he had been captured by Powhatan who *for some reason* had spared his life and sent him safely home to Jamestown. They could not guess the reason for they did not know that his rescue by the king's daughter was nothing unusual—that it was a custom of the country to give to a woman the life of a prisoner about to be executed if she chose to ask for it.

The earliest account of the Settlement of Jamestown, printed and edited in London in 1608 by one "J. H.," while Smith was absent in Virginia, claims to be the substance of a letter from Smith to a friend in England. This tiny, rare pamphlet omits the rescue incident though it records the love of Pocahontas for the colony and her kindness to it. But "J. H." says in a preface, "Somewhat more was by him [the author] written which being as I thought fit to be private I would not adventure to make public."

Here is frank admission that the "letter" had been tampered with. No other writer of 1608 mentions the incident, but in 1622 Smith refers to it briefly in his "New England's Trials."

In 1624, in Smith's "General Historie of Virginia," appears the complete rescue story. It accounts fully for Powhatan's sparing Smith's life, for the interest of Pocahontas in the

colony, for the devotion of the English to the maiden, for the cessation of her visits to Jamestown after Smith's departure, for (later on) the love she inspired in Master John Rolfe, member of Council and Secretary of State of the colony, whose wife she became (the only instance of marriage, at Jamestown, of an English gentleman with a woman of Indian blood) and for the hospitality she received during her visit to England from the Court and from the people.

No one has ever doubted that the Indians captured Smith or that, contrary to their custom of slaying every white man who came into their power, they sent him back to Jamestown unhurt. The only explanation of their action that has ever been given is furnished by his own statement that "the king's dearest daughter" (following the custom of her country that Smith himself did not know existed) asked for his life and adopted him as her friend and servant. And what more natural? In the words of the late, scholarly Charles Poindexter, of Richmond, in a rare pamphlet on the subject, "Pocahontas had never before seen a man of such godlike power, armed with the thunder and lightning of heaven, as the Indians believed, and of prowess and bearing that more than realized the barbarian ideal of heroism."

In Mr. Poindexter's opinion, "nothing else could have saved him; and that and that only is how and why John Smith returned alive to Jamestown."

Smith's contemporary, Purchas—perhaps the best-informed man in England on Virginian affairs—shows confidence in him. Edward Arber, who had an unexcelled knowledge of early seventeenth century publications in England, says that none of Smith's statements were contradicted in print during his lifetime. It is impossible to believe that Smith would have dared to print, in 1624, a letter which he claimed to have written to Queen Anne eight years before, unless he had written said letter, which, commending Pocahontas to the Queen's kindness, recites the rescue story.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST SUPPLY

IT IS the evening of January 8, 1608—the day of Captain Smith's return from Orapax. Jamestown has heard with wonder and fascination—though there may have been scepticism too, on the part of some of his audience—of his experience in Powhatan's country. As if that were not excitement enough for one day; a sentinel on the watch shouts, "A sail! a sail!" The cry is taken up and passes from lip to lip throughout the fort while there is a stampede to the water's edge. Soon the good ship *Sarah Constant* is alongside the fort and made fast to the trees she knows so well and the colonists are joyfully welcoming Captain Newport, arriving with the first supply of new settlers and provisions sent out by the Virginia Company from London. Another ship, the *Phoenix*—Captain Nelson—had accompanied her, but they had been separated by "contrary winds." Of the emigrants in the two ships—all of them men—thirty-three were listed as gentlemen, twenty-one as labourers, six as taylors, two apothecaries, a jeweller, a refiner, a goldsmith, a gunsmith, a perfumer, a surgeon, a cooper, a tobacco-pipe-maker, a blacksmith, and others to the number of one hundred and twenty.

Captain Newport propitiated Powhatan by sending him "great presents" and early in February went to visit him in the pinnace, accompanied by Smith and Master Scrivenor—a newly arrived councillor—"with thirtie or fortie chosen men for their guard." At the Indian village of Werowcomico (beautifully situated on Poetan—now Purton Bay—an arm of York River) Powhatan "strained himselfe to the utmost of his greatnesse, to entertaine them, with great shouts of joy, Orations of protestations, and with the most plentie of victualls he could provide to feast them . . . and proclamation was made none upon paine of death to presume to doe us any wrong or discourtesie." The visitors remained nearly a

week at Werowocomico, "feasting, dancing, and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made us all admire his natural gifts, considering his education." Smith, who had evidently learned much of the Indian language in the nearly two years he had been in Virginia, says he acted as interpreter. Scorning to trade as his subjects did, Powhatan said, "Captaine Newport it is not agreeable to my greatness, in this peddling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. There lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take and in recompence give you what I think fitting their value." Smith with his knowledge of the wily Indian told Newport that Powhatan's real intention was to cheat him and "it so happened," for Powhatan "valued his corne at such a rate that . . . we had not foure bushells," in exchange for stuff for which twenty hogsheads had been expected.

Smith dangled various trifles before the eyes of Powhatan, "who fixed his humor upon a few blew beades." Smith told him that "they were of a most rare substance the colour of the skyes, and not to be worne but by the greatest kings in the world." Which of course "made him halfe madde to be the owner of such strange jewells; so that . . . for a pound or two of blew beades he purchased two or three hundred bushels of corne . . . yet parted good friends." By the same tactics, Smith sold Powhatan's brother, Opechancanough, some of the beads, "which grew . . . of that estimation that none durst weare any of them but their great kings, their wives and children."

The colonists returned to Jamestown on March 9, 1608, to find that more than a month before, in the midst of "extreme frost" the town of hastily built huts thatched with reeds had been destroyed by fire, palisade and all, with arms, bedding, clothing, and much food. "Good Master Hunt, our Preacher, lost all his Library, and all he had but the clothes on his backe: yet none never heard him repine at his losse."

Hope of finding a gold mine caused Captain Newport's ship to loiter from January 8, to April 10, "spending" a great

part of the colony's provision. Smith declares that there was "no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold" and that never anything did more torment him than "to see all necessary business neglected to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded dirt." Newport sailed on April 10, taking "Master Wingfield and Captain Archer" with him. He also took with him twenty live turkeys sent him by Powhatan, who demanded and received in exchange for these splendid Virginia wood birds, of beautiful bronze plumage, twenty swords.

"Master Scrivenor and Captaine Smith" now "divided between them the rebuilding of Jamestowne, the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing the fields; planting our corne and to rebuild our church and re-cover our Storehouse." The storehouse was of first importance, for all the colony's food supplies were kept within it. The burning of the storehouse and its contents in midwinter was a grievous blow. According to Smith's graphic chronicle, "Food became so scarce again," that they were reduced to a diet of meal and water, "whereby with the extremitie of the bitter frost and other defects, more than halfe of us dyed." Happily, "while all men were busie at their severall labours Master Nelson arrived with his ship *Phoenix*." He had been so long delayed that he had been given up as lost, but had been safe in the West Indies whence he brought and divided with the suffering colonists "much victuall."

Powhatan sent Smith twenty turkeys with the same demand he had made of Newport for twenty swords, which being refused, he took back his turkeys. He then attempted to seize arms from James Fort, but was defeated so decisively that, says Smith, he sent messengers and his "dearest daughter Pocahontas [May, 1608] with presents," to beg pardon for the rashness of his subjects and the return of those that had been captured. Smith gave the prisoners "what correction he thought fit, used them well a day or two after, and then delivered them to Pocahontas; for whose sake only he fayned to have saved their lives and gave them libertie."

The *Phoenix* was quickly reloaded with a cargo of Virginia

cedar and sailed for England, June 2, 1608. At the same time Captain Smith left Jamestown in an open barge of "neare three tons burthen" to make discoveries in Chesapeake Bay. With him went six gentlemen, seven soldiers, and Dr. Walter Russell. Leaving the *Phoenix* at Cape Henry, they crossed the Bay to the Eastern Shore, and visited Smith's Island, "named for our Captaine," and Cape Charles (named for the Duke of York), whose lights are among the important beacons of the Atlantic coast today. At Cape Charles "two grim and stout salvages" showed them the way to the Indian village of Accomack (whose name has survived in that of Accomac County) the seat of the Werowance, or chief, of that tribe. "This king was the comliest, proper, civil salvage we encountered." The Accomacks were subjects of Powhatan and in *his* dialect gave the English men descriptions of the Bay and its islands and rivers. "Passing along the coast searching every inlet and bay fit for harbours and habitations," the progress of the colonists was impeded by electric storms. In one fierce gust their mast and sail blew overboard and the barge was nearly sunk. They repaired the sail with their shirts and continued their exploration. At the sight of their barge the amazed natives on shore ran in terror "from place to place and divers got into the tops of trees." They sent a shower of arrows toward the barge, riding at anchor beyond their reach in which sat Smith and his companions "making all signs of friendship we could." After about two weeks in the barge Smith's men, "oft tyred at the oars, our bread spoyled with wet," begged him to return to Jamestown, but in a stirring little speech, he shamed them for wishing to give up their quest when "scarce able to say where we have beene not yet heard of that we were sent to seeke. . . . Return I will not (if God please) till I have seen the Massawomeks, found the Potomac, or the head of this water you conceive to be endlesse." In addition to other discomforts some of the men were miserable from seasickness, riding the waves of the oceanlike Chesapeake, covered with white caps as far as eye could see. On June 16 they found the mouth of the Potomac and now, "Feare being gone and our men

recovered, they were delighted with that seven-mile-broad river." They entered and sailed up the river thirty miles seeing no inhabitants and then were led by two Indians into a creek where "three or four thousand salvages lay in ambuscade." They were "strangely painted, and shouting, yelling, and crying as so many spirits from hell. . . . Grazing of our bullets upon the water (many being shot on purpose that they might see them), with the Ecco of the woods, so amazed them as downe went their bowes and arrows."

The usual custom of exchange of hostages was observed and "James Watkins was sent six myles up the woods to the king's habitation." Having gone as high as they could with the barge they met "Divers Salvages in Canowes, well loaden with the flesh of Bears, Deere and other beasts, whereof we had part." The king of Potomac gave them guides to conduct them up a little river called Quiyough (present Aquia Creek) up which they rowed as far as it was navigable and then Smith and some of his men marched seven or eight miles inland before they discovered a rumoured mine of a substance like antimony (reported to be half silver) used by the Indians to paint themselves and their idols—"which makes them look like Blackamores dusted with silver. . . . With as much as we could carry, we returned to our boate, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people." The object of their exploration was "to search for furs and this mine . . . and what other mineralls, rivers, rocks, nations, woods, fishings, fruits, victual and what other commodities the land afforded; and whether the bay were endless or how far it extended." They found no other mines but a few fur-bearing animals—beavers, otters, bears, martins, and minks—"and that abundance of fish lying so thick with their heads above the water as for wants of nets . . . we attempted to catch them with a frying pan . . . neither better fish, more plenty nor more variety . . . had any of us ever seene . . . but they are not to be caught with frying pans." Later at "a reedy place," near the mouth of the Rappahannock, Captain Smith had better luck spearing fish with his sword, and "set us all afishing in that manner" (says one of the contributors to his book).

“Thus we took more in one houre than we could eate in a day.” The Captain was so unfortunate as to spear a stingray, which as he removed it from his sword, struck the barbed tail which Nature had provided for its protection into his wrist. This caused intense suffering. His arm and shoulder became so swollen that his companions planned his funeral and, by his direction, prepared his grave on an island. But by the skill of Dr. Russell who had promptly probed the wound and applied a “Precious oil” his “tormenting pain” was so much relieved before night that “he eate the fish for his supper.” The name of “Stingray Island” still preserves this incident and vouches for its truth.

Having with them no surgeon (Russell was a “doctor of physicke”) the party now set sail for Jamestown. Passing the mouths of the Pianketank and Pamunkey (now York) rivers (without entering them) they arrived at Kecoughtan (Hampton) next day, at Worrosiquoyacke (Isle of Wight) the next, where they trimmed the barge with such gaily painted streamers that on the day following (July 21) “when we all, God be thanked, safely arrived” at Jamestown; the dwellers there were, at first sight of it uneasy lest it be a Spanish frigate.”

In the fort, the returned explorers found the last “Supply” (who had not been acclimated) “all sicke,” the earlier emigrants in a state of mutiny against the president (Ratcliffe). They were cheered by the news of the discovery of the Chesapeake and the “good hope” gathered from Indians’ talks that “our Bay stretched into the South Sea or somewhat neare it.” Smith says they became quiet when he agreed to their demand that Ratcliffe should be deposed with Smith himself to succeed him. He appointed Scrivenor “who then lay exeeding sick of a callenture [tropical fever] to represent him, and honest officers to assist him, and on account of the weaknesse of the company and heate of the yeare, they being unable to worke, he left them to live at ease to recover their healths, and with five of the former company and seven of the last Supply, including Anthony

Bagnalle, "chirurgion," in place of the "doctor of physicke," re-embarked to finish his discovery.

Smith and his party sailed on July 24 as far as Kecoughtan where "contrary winds" kept them several days and where "the King feasted us with much mirth." In the evening they fired some skyrockets which terrified the Indians and made them think there was "nothing impossible we attempted." Finally they returned to Stingray Isle and resumed their interrupted discovery.

They soon encountered seven or eight canoes full of Massawomeks preparing to attack them. Captain Smith and his five earlier aids were all of his men that could stand on their feet—the rest being not "seasoned to the country" were "sicke almost to death." Captain Smith and his men covered their disabled comrades with a tarpaulin, put their hats upon sticks by the barge's side and between two hats placed a man with two guns, "to make us seeme many: and so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore and there stayed staring at the sailing of our barge till we anchored right against them." After a while they sent two unarmed men in a canoe to the barge. These, "being each presented with a bell, brought aboard all their fellowes, presenting our Captaine with venison, bear's flesh, fish, bowes, arrows, clubs, targets and beares." These Massawomeks were Iroquois, dreaded by all other Indians. They spoke a different language from that of the Powhatan tribes and the colonists could only communicate with them by signs. "Whereby they signified unto us they had been at warres with the Tockwoghs, the which they confirmed by showing us their green wounds."

The colonists entered the Tockwogh River (now the Sassafras, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland). Their barge was surrounded by a fleet of canoes filled with armed Indians, but when these Tockwoghs saw that the colonists had Massawomeks weapons which they pretended to have taken by force, they took them to their town fortified with a palisade and breastworks where men, women, and children welcomed them, spread mats for them to sit upon, danced for them and pre-

sented them with fruits and furs. One of the Tockwoghs who "could speake the language of Powhatan" acted as interpreter. The Tockwoghs persuaded Captain Smith to take another interpreter and invite the Susquahannocks, "a mightie people" two days journey beyond the point where their barge could pass to come to visit them. In three or four days here came the interpreters back accompanied by "sixtie of those gyant-like people, bringing presents of venison, Tobacco pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and arrowes."

Five of the gigantic chiefs went aboard the barge. Smith says "Our order was daily to have Prayer and a Psalme; at which Solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondered." The Chiefs held a consultation. "Then they began in a most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the Sunne with a most fearful song, then embracing our Captaine they began to adore him." He "rebuked" them, but they proceeded till their song was finished. "Which done [one] with a most strange furious action and a hellish voyce, began an Oration of their loves." Finally, they decorated Captain Smith with "a great painted beare's skin" and "a great chayne of white Beads weighting at least six or seven pounds, hung about his necke, and laid 18 fur mantels" and "many other toyes at his feet, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Protector, promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his if he would stay with them to defend and revenge them of the Massawomeks."

After completing the exploration of the upper Chesapeake Smith and his men returned south and entered the Rappahannock River, where they were kindly entertained by the Moratico Indians. The highest mountain they saw to the northward they named "Peregrine's Mount" and to a little rocky river they gave the name of "Willowby" "in honour of the towne our Captaine was borne in and . . . Lord Willowby, his most honoured good friend."

Later, as they passed up the river what the colonists mistook to be "little bushes growing among the sedge" sent a shower of arrows which struck the shields the Tockwoghs had

given them and dropped into the river—proving the bushes to be thirty or forty Rappahannock Indians who fell down in the sedge when a volley of shot was sent them in return for their arrows. “When we were neare halfe a mile from them they showed themselves dancing and singing very merrily.” The kings of Passassack, Mandtaughtacund and Cuttata-women whose villages were passed one after the other “used us kindly.”

And now grim Death stalks into the barge when “it pleased God to take one of our company called Master Fetherstone, that all the time he had been in this country had behaved himselfe honestly, valiantly and industriously.” They buried him in a little bay which they named Featherstone’s Bay (now Portobago), “with a volley of shot.” The rest of the invalids, notwithstanding their “ill dyet and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge, in so many dangers, never resting, but always tossed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths.”

As Smith and his companions sailed up the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers in their barge, they passed the birth-places-to-be of Washington, Madison, Monroe, and the Lees and many other spots of future historic association. On the Potomac they reached the site of the future capital of the United States. At the highest point on the Rappahannock reached by their boat was the site of the future Fredericksburg, where they set up crosses and cut their names on the trees. Here they had not seen a native till suddenly they discovered “about an hundred nimble Indians skipping from tree to tree letting fly their arrows so fast as they could.” The skirmish that followed with these Manahoacks (where the armies of a divided Union were to fight one of their bloodiest battles) lasted about an hour, when the savages “vanished as suddenly as they had approached,” leaving one of their number “as dead.” Finding that the man breathed, the colonists took him aboard the barge where Dr. Bagnall dressed his wounds and he “soon did eate and spake.” With Mosco (a friendly guide with a bushy black beard, unusual for an Indian) as interpreter, the wounded captive was asked

many questions. When asked what was beyond the mountains he replied "the Sunne, but of anything else he knew nothing because the woods were not burnt." It was the custom of the Indians to burn the forests and thus create grassy plains which attracted buffalo and other game. In "Landmarks of Old Prince William," the author strikingly visualizes the life of the Indians whose settlements were scattered along the rivers as "a mere seluage woven upon the fabric of the wilderness. . . . Of what that forest veiled but little was known in Virginia for a century after Smith."

In return for Amoroleck's information, his captors gave him "many toyes." Amoroleck turned out to be a brother of Hassininga, one of the four kings of the Manahoac Indians, an interesting tribe of Siouan stock which had at some time prior to the settlement of Virginia wandered from the west into and occupied the region between the falls of the Rappahannock River and the Blue Ridge Mountains—their settlements extending as far as the southern side of the Potomac. Amoroleck said their kings, with thirty men, had "gone ahunting, every one a severall way," but all would be together at night at their hunting camp, Mahaskahod, at the great fork near where the Rapidan and Hedgman rivers meet to form the Rappahannock. But instead of awaiting a visit from these kings the colonists sailed down between the high bluffs of the Rappahannock all night, the Indians following along and showering them with arrows which did no harm. They anchored in a broad bay in the morning and Amoroleck's account of their kindness enabled them to conclude a treaty of peace with the four warlike kings who presented them with bows, arrows, tobacco bags, and pipes. "Our Pistols they took for pipes which they very much desired, but we did content them with other commodities," and left them "singing, dancing and making merry."

Returning homeward our colonists had an encounter with the Nansemonds and Chesapeakes on Nansemond River and forced from them as much corn as their barge would carry. The party arrived safely at Jamestown September 7, 1608, "Having passed in that small Barge . . . about three thou-

sand myles . . . in those great waters and barbarous countries till then to any Christian utterly unknowne." At the highest point reached on all the rivers they cut crosses on trees, placed notes in holes cut in trees and in some places crosses of brass "to signify that Englishmen had been there."

At Jamestown, they found "Master Scrivener and divers others well recovered; many dead, some sicke, . . . the 'late president,' Ratcliffe, a prisoner for mutiny. . . . By the honest diligence of Master Scrivener, the harvest gathered; but the provision in store much spoyled with rayne." On September 10, Smith was chosen president. Now the building of a "palace" for Ratcliffe was stopped as "a thing needlesse." The Church was repaired, the storehouse re-roofed, buildings prepared for the new supplies expected, the triangular fort changed to a five-square form, the order of the watch renewed, the squadrons trained, the whole company drilled every Saturday in the field by the west bulwark prepared for that purpose, and named Smithfield—"where sometimes more than a hundred savages would stand in an amazement to behold how a fyle would batter a tree, where he [Captain Smith] would make them a mark to shoot at."

Those who accompanied Smith, some on the first voyage, some on the second, some on both were Doctors Walter Russell and Anthony Bagnall, Gentlemen: Ralph Murton, Thomas Mumford, William Cantrill, Richard Fetherstone, James Burne, Michael Sicklemore, Nathaniel Powell, Soldiers: Jonas Profit, Anas Todkill, Robert Small, James Watkins, John Powell, James Read, Richard Keale, Edward Pising, William Word. The account in Smith's "Historie" of the second part of the discovery was attributed by him to Dr. Anthony Bagnall, Nathaniel Powell, and Anas Todkill. A map was made of all the land and water explored.

CHAPTER VII

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, PRESIDENT

SOON after Smith's return from the Chesapeake—probably some time in October, 1608—the boats were “trimmed for trade” with the Indians and sent out in charge of “Lieutenant Percy.” On their way they met Captain Newport and his ship with the “Second Supply,” and he brought them back to help him discover the Monacan's country. He is said to have been instructed by the Virginia Company of London not to return without a “lump of gold, a certaintie of the South Sea, or one of the lost colony sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh.” He brought with him a barge which could be taken to pieces and put together again in which his men were to sail to “the falls” and then carry over land until they found a river flowing into the Pacific Ocean. He also brought Powhatan such “costly novelties” as a basin and ewer, bed, bedstead, and a scarlet cloak and a crown.

Among the seventy colonists to arrive at this time were Captains Richard Waldo and Peter Wynne, “ancient soldiers and valiant gentlemen”; Francis West, brother of Lord Delaware, Raleigh Crashaw (who was to become a warm friend and admirer of Smith and a prominent figure in the colony), Thomas Forrest with Mrs. Forrest and Ann Burras her maid—the first English women of Jamestown, or then, in America. Waldo and Wynne were added to the Council and Ratcliffe was permitted to resume his seat. Some Poles and Dutchmen were sent to “erect mills and make pitch, tar, glass, and soap ashes to be taken to England.”

The Company's orders disgusted the practical Smith—especially the provisions for the coronation of Powhatan. But with Captain Waldo and three others he went at once to Werowocomico to invite Powhatan to come to Jamestown and receive his presents. Powhatan was away from his capital but Pocahontas sent for him and in the meantime she and her “nymphs” entertained the visitors with a sylvan masque.

In the middle of a field, they made a fire in front of which Smith sat on a mat with a number of Indian "beholders," men, women, and children, gathered around. Suddenly from out the autumn-tinted woods, danced thirty Indian girls with buck's horns on their heads and their bodies painted some one colour, some another, clad only in a few green leaves, with otters' skins at their girdles, quivers of arrows at their backs and each with a bow, a sword or a club in her hand. They formed a ring around the fire singing and dancing for "neare an houre," then danced off and disappeared into the woods again. They soon returned and "more tormented" Smith than ever, "with crowding, pressing and hanging about him, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me? Love you not me?'" Next a feast of "savage dainties" was set for the guests, at which some of the nymphs waited while others sang and danced around the room. After supper they lighted the gentlemen to their lodgings with "firebrands."

"The next day came Powhatan." Smith redelivered him his son, Namontack, whom he had sent to England and who had returned with Newport, but Powhatan declined to go to Jamestown to receive his presents—reminding Smith that he was a king and that "Father Newport" should come to him. He declared that his people had deceived the English in regard to "any salt water beyond the mountains," and "began to draw plots upon the ground of all those regions." The "presents" were sent from Jamestown by water and the captains with fifty good musketeers made a short cut overland. Next day was set for the coronation. The basin and ewer were presented, the bed and its furnishings set up in the chieftain's wigwam and his scarlet mantle and other white man's apparel "with much adoe put on him—being persuaded by Namontack they would not hurt him; but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receive his crown. . . . At last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped" and the crown was placed on his head. "To congratulate their kindness," he presented Newport with his old moccasins and mantle. In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is a robe more than seven feet long and five feet wide, of tanned deer skin

embroidered with sea shells. It was once in the collection of John Tradescant, of London, where it appeared in a printed list as early as 1656, as "Powhatan, King of Virginia's habit." May this not be the mantle given to Newport by the Indian Chief?

On his return to Jamestown Captain Newport with a hundred and twenty picked men, led by Captains Waldo and Wynne, Lieut. Percy, Master West, and Master Scrivener, went forth to explore the Monacan country, leaving President Smith at Jamestown with the remaining eighty or ninety, to reload the ship. The explorers having with them "a refiner fitted for that purpose," searched diligently for gold or silver mines, exploring the country for thirty miles above the falls, but with no result. They did not even succeed in getting anything from the Indians. "Trade they would not, and finde their corne we could not; for they had hid it in the woods; and being thus deluded we arrived at James Towne halfe sicke, all complaining and tyred with toyle, famine and discontent." Captain Smith at once set as many as were able to work, some making the first glass ever produced in America (chiefly in the form of beads to be used in Indian trading), others to prepare tar, pitch, and soap ashes, leaving everything at the fort to the care of the Council. But thirty of the newcomers were taken down the river to learn to make clapboard, cut down trees and get hardened to camping in the woods. Amongst the rest he had chosen Gabriel Beadle and John Russell "the onely two gallants of this last supply and both proper Gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating and drinking, working or playing, they were but doing as the President did himselfe. All these things were carried so pleasantly as within a weeke they became Masters; making their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell; but the Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drowne the echo; for remedie of which sinne the President devised how to have a cann of water powred downe his sleeve, with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an oathe in a weeke."

As soon as Smith and his party returned from the woods, Smith, who was not only president, but in absolute control, started with two barges and eighteen men for Chickahominy, to trade for food. He ordered the Council to send Percy after him with the next barge that arrived at the fort—which was done. We have here an illustration of Smith's ability in handling the natives. Powhatan's coronation seems to have turned the heads of himself and his subjects, for the Chickahominies refused to trade. The President "perceiving it was Powhatan's policy to starve us, told them he came not so much for corn as to revenge his imprisonment (the year past) and the death of his murdered men." Landing his musketeers he threatened to attack them. They "immediately fled" but soon sent their "ambassadors," with corn, fish and game, to make their peace. Though complaining of their own wants, they freighted President Smith's boats with "An hundred bushels of corne and in like manner Lieutenant Percies . . . and having done the best they could to content us we parted good friends and returned to Jamestowne."

The authors of notes from which this chapter of Smith's "Historie" are said to be compiled are Richard Wyffing, Jeffrey Abbot, William Phettiplace, and Anas Todkill, and the editor was Rev. W. Simmonds, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. According to them, though the return of the boats with provisions "much contented the Company," the contrast between the results of Smith's visit to Chickahominy and that of Newport to the Monacans caused "some" to so envy him that they had rather "hazzard a starving" than that "his paines should prove so much more effectuell than theirs." It is charged that Newport and Ratcliffe not only plotted to depose Smith but "to have him kept out of the Fort; for that being President, he would leave his place in the Fort without their consents." But they were not strong enough to effect this. It was also charged that soldiers in the fort traded tools and arms with the Indians for furs, baskets and "young beasts," and with the crew of Newport's ship for the ship's provisions. There was evidently charge and counter charge between Smith and Newport, the two men on whom the colony

relied for existence. According to the story, the "adventurers" (of money) in England were fooled by rosy reports and "Had not Captaine Newport cried "*Peccavi*," the President would have discharged the ship, and caused him to have stayed one yeare in Virginia, to learne to speake of his owne experience."

It was now high time for Newport and his ship to be off to England to report conditions in the colony to the Company, so anxiously hoping for returns from its expenditure. "With the trials of Pitch, Tarre, Glass, Frankincense, Sope ashes, with what Clapboard and Waynscot that could be provided"—with this cargo instead of the hoped for gold and silver—Newport at length sailed away, leaving about two hundred English subjects in Virginia. He also took a personal report in form of a "letter sent to the Treasurer and Councill of Virginia from Captaine Smith then President in Virginia," in which Smith mentioned having sent them "a Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and nations that inhabit them," and two barrells of stones believed to contain iron ore, tagged to show the places in which they were found. This remarkably accurate map, long the basis of all maps of Virginia and generally attributed to Smith alone, is by recent students believed to have been the joint work of himself and Nathaniel Powell, a friend of Smith's "born a gentleman and bred a soldier," a member of the exploring party and for years a man of consequence in the colony. Though no precious metals had been discovered in Virginia, the stones sent over by Newport proved that Smith was right in believing them to contain iron ore. It produced seventeen tons of iron when it was smelted in England, which sold to the East India Company for £4 per ton. Discovery of this ore led to the establishment, in 1619, of the first iron works in English America, at Falling Creek, a few miles below the present Richmond.

Between the lines of Smith's letter to the Company we read the Company's letter to the President of the Council to which his is the reply. It appears that they had complained that the colonists' minds were "set upon faction and idle con-

ceit" in "dividing the country" (granting planters individual ownership of lands) without the Company's consent—that the Company was fed upon "*ifs and ands and hopes*," as if they would keep the mystery of the business to themselves; they therefore ordered that the President and Council "expressly follow the Company's instructions sent by Captain Newport, the charge of whose voyage amounts to near two thousand pounds, and if the return cargo be not sufficient to repay this amount the colonists are likely to remain as banished men." It is evident that their lordships' letter filled the man who had succeeded the deposed Ratcliffe as President and took the criticism to himself, with very human indignation, which he bluntly and in vigorous English, expressed. After reciting the charges in their letter, he writes, "I humbly entreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude answer," and proceeds to heap scorn on the heads of "some" he suspects of having caused the Company to "believe much more than is true" (probably Newport, Ratcliffe, Wingfield, and Archer). He declares that it is impossible for him to prevent quarrels among the Council and colonists, that he never dreamt of any such matter as "dividing the country"; that he was "directly against" expressly following the directions sent by Captain Newport, but "was content to be overruled by the major part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of us all." He deplores the folly of Powhatan's coronation and ridicules the "quartered boat to be borne by souldiers over the Falls. . . . If he had burnt her to ashes *one* might have carried her in a bag; but as *she is, five hundred* cannot to a navigable place above the Falles." He declares that the Company must not yet expect a return from their investment from "a many miserable soules that are scarce able to get wherewith to live and defend themselves against the inconstant salvages."

He is contemptuous of the small fruits of Newport's excursion to the Monacan country with one hundred and twenty picked men and says, "From your ship we had not provision in victuals worth 20 pounds and we are more than two hundred to live upon this; the one halfe sicke the other little better.

For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meal and water and not sufficient of that. As for the German and Polish glasse workers and the rest, it were better to give five hundred pound a tun for those grosse commodities in Denmarke, then send for them hither till more necessary things be provided." Newport's ship lingering so long with the sailors to be fed was felt by the colonists to be a great hardship—especially as they were constrained to give him three hogsheads of corn "to victuall him homeward." Finally Smith "entreats" that the next ship shall rather bring "but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of tree's roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have: for except wee be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything."

Prior to this time there is no evidence of lack of cordiality between Smith and Newport, notwithstanding the fact that Smith had been brought to Virginia unjustly under arrest, on Newport's ship. Smith had soon learned that "the country's sickness" (as malaria without quinine and with no knowledge of sanitation was called) added to the hostility of the Indians and scarcity of food, made settlement of the colony a hand to hand fight with death. Newport, distinguished naval officer though he was, and essential as he was in the bringing of supplies and carrying news between the infant colony and the mother country, had not experienced the terrors that made Smith a stern but necessary disciplinarian. The Company in London was still dreaming dreams of a short route to the wealth of the Orient and of finding Raleigh's lost colony. Smith had learned what it meant to plant a colony in this "paradise Virginia." While busy with his task in the shadow of death, he received orders to "expressly follow" the Company's instructions delivered by Captain Newport. From dangers and sufferings and hardship and toil he had learned his task. And now he was told how to perform it in a message from a set of men who (with the best intentions) knew nothing of what they were talking about, delivered by

a man nearly as ignorant of it as they. He gave them what he called "a rude answer" but it is a courageous answer. Soon after it should have been read in England, if it was sent at the date it bears, the Council and Company in London were working along the lines it suggested to remedy matters in Virginia and it is now generally admitted that Captain John Smith's statement of the causes of misfortunes in the colony and his advice for a cure were sound, and prove his genius as a colonizer.

Immediately after Newport's departure, hard winter set in in Virginia, and the colonists were "affrighted with famine." President Smith prepared the three barges for a foraging trip to Nansemond. Among those he took with him were Wynne and Scrivener. The Nansemond Indians refused to trade, saying they were commanded by Powhatan to keep all of their provisions and not to let the white men come into their river. Drastic measures were necessary if lives were to be saved. Smith could always resort to such measures in emergency. At a sign from him, the "sticks that speak" were heard from and the terrified Indians "all fled and shot not an arrow." The colonists landed, marched toward the group of deserted cabins and set fire to the first one reached. Some of the dwellers in the village promised to give them "halfe they had" if they would "make no more spoyle," and "before night, loaded our three boats." Smith and his men fell down the Nansemond River, and here is a picture of them camping for the night in the open woods under a hill where the ground was covered with frozen snow. "The snow we digged away and made a great fire in the place." When the ground was "well dried" the fire was extinguished and the spot where it had been covered with an Indian mat. "There we lay very warme." . . . To keepe us from the winde we made a shade of another mat. As the winde turned we turned our shade. Thus many a cold winter night have we laine. . . . Yet those that most commonly went . . . were alwayes in health, lusty and fat." The Nansemonds' food probably furnished cheer for a wedding, for the party reached Jamestown just in time for

the first English marriage in Virginia—"betwixt John Laydon and Ann Burras, the maid of Mrs. Forrest."

Off again went Captain Smith, Captain Waldo and others in two of the barges, and discovered the Appomattux River and the Appomattux people. What little these had they divided with the white men who gave them in trade "copper and such things as contented them." Captain Smith now received an invitation from Powhatan to visit him, with the promise that if he would send men to build him a house, give him a grindstone, fifty swords, some muskets, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads he would load his ship with corn. Smith, aware of the Chief's "devises and subtiltie, yet unwilling to neglect any opportunitie," left Scrivener at Jamestown as his deputy in the office of president, and taking Captain Waldo to aid him on his diplomatic visit, set sail (on December 29, 1608) in "the Pinnace and two barges with fortie-six men" who had volunteered for the journey which was considered "very desperate." Several Dutchmen and Englishmen—evidently carpenters—were sent ahead, by land, to get the building of Powhatan's house under way. Smith and his party spent the first night at Warrosquoyacke where they were well provided. The "kind king" of the Warrosquoyacke tribe tried without success to dissuade Smith from seeing Powhatan and finally advised him:

"Captain Smith you shall find Powhatan to use you kindly, but trust him not and be sure he have no opportunitie to seize your armes; for he hath sent for you only to cut your throats." Smith thanked the chief and procured from him two guides whom he sent with Master Michael Sicklemore "a very valiant honest and painefull soldier" to search the present North Carolina for Raleigh's lost colony and for "silk grasse." The next night the colonists spent at Kecoughtan. A week of "winde, rayne, frost and snow" forced them to "keepe Christmas"—from New York's day to Twelfth Night, there among the Indians—"where we were never more merry nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wilde-fowle and good bread, nor never had better fires in England than in the dry, smoaky houses of Kecoughtan."

At Kiskiacke on York River, bad weather forced them to quarter several days in the huts of that warlike tribe, where, also, they fared well. On January 12, 1609, they reached Werowocomico. The broad York was frozen "neare halfe a myle from the shore." By breaking the ice, Smith went so close to shore that the ebb tide left him stranded in the mud and slush, but, by example, he taught his men to march nearly waist deep, "a flight shot" (far as an arrow could fly) through the "muddy frozen ooze." Quarters in the cabins nearest the shore they sent to Powhatan for food and were supplied with "plentie of bread, Turkies and Venison." The next day, January 13, after "feasting" them Powhatan asked when they would "bee gone," pretending that he had not sent for them, that he had no corn, his people less, yet that for forty swords he would procure them forty baskets. Smith, pointing to the men who had brought the invitation, asked Powhatan how he could be so forgetful. The king with "merry laughter" asked to see the English goods they had brought to give him in trade. But he wanted only "gunnes and swords." These were denied him and the shrewd chief said:

"Captain Smith, some doubt I have of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieve you as I would; for many doe inform me your coming hither is not to trade, but to invade my people and possesse my country." (Can we blame him?) "We dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To free us of this feare, leave aboard your weapons, for here they are needless, we being all friends, and forever Powhatans." (Was this a reference to Smith's rescue by Pocahontas and adoption into the tribe?) The English Captain and the Indian king argued all day and the colonists quartered again that night in Powhatan's houses. Next day Smith "wrangled out of the King ten quarters of corn [180 bushels] for a copper Kettell" which took his fancy. In a harangue, Powhatan described himself as the oldest of his generation and pleaded touchingly with Smith to spare his people. . . . "This bruit from Nansemond that you are come to destroy my country so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you." The old man adds that he cannot

rest, eat, or sleep without having his tired men on the watch and "if a twig but breake every one cryeth, 'There cometh Captaine Smith,' then must I fly I know not whither. . . . Let this therefore assure you of our loves and every yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you with corne; . . . if you would come in friendly manner to see us and not thus with your guns and swords."

Captain Smith reminded him that the English made no objection to his people coming to Jamestown with their bows and arrows, realizing that with the Indians as with the English arms were a "part of a man's apparell." But Powhatan continued to plead that the colonists' arms be laid aside, with such persistent and subtle arguments that Smith realizing that the wily chief was plotting to murder him made a counter plot to capture the chief. Powhatan discovering that Smith's men were about to take him fled, taking with him his women and children. His men surrounded the house in which Smith was quartered. With pistol, sword, and shield the Captain rushed among "these naked devils." In fright, some tumbled over one another, the rest fled. Powhatan to excuse his flight and the surrounding of Smith sent the Captain "a great bracelet and a chaine of pearle," by an ancient orator who tried to explain away Powhatan's conduct. Others of Powhatan's subjects—"goodly well proportioned fellowes as grim as devils"—carried great baskets of their corn for the colonists down to the barge on their bare, red backs. The barges had been left aground in the mud, by the ebb tide so, unable to move away "till the next high water" the colonists returned to their quarters ashore.

Pocahontas, Powhatan's "dearest jewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent us by and by; but Powhatan and all the force he could gather would come and murder them all if the servants that brought the feast could not kill them with their own weapons while they were at supper. . . . Therefore, if we would live she wished us presently to bee gone. Such things as she delighted in [beads and other trinkets used by the English in trade] he would have given

her; but with the teares running downe her cheeks she said she durst not be seen to have any; for if Powhatan should know it she were but dead and so she ranne away by her selfe as she came." Soon came "eight or ten lusty fellowes with great platters of venison and other victual" who urged Smith and his men to stop smoking and sit down to the feast. Smith made the Indians taste every dish and then sent some of them to bid Powhatan "make haste for he was prepared for his comming." He told the rest of the servants to be gone for he knew their plot to murder him at supper and would prevent it. The colonists spent the night as vigilantly as the red men till high water enabled them to get away, English and Indians in seeming friendliness. The only signs from Powhatan were messengers sent twice during the night "to see what newes?"

"To give the chief content" Smith left him Edward Brynton to shoot wild fowl for him and the Dutchmen to finish his house. According to the story, the Dutchmen, seeing Powhatan's plenty and knowing the scant rations at Jamestown, believed it to their interest to intrench themselves in the friendship of the Indians.

Smith and his forty odd men went from Werowocomico to Pamunkey town (now West Point where the Pamunkey and Matapony rivers meet to form the York) to get food from Opechancanough. On the day set for the beginning of their trade, the President with Percy, West, Russell, Behethland, Crashaw, Powell, Ford and others to the number of fifteen, went to Opechancanough's house, a quarter of a mile back from the river. The red king soon arrived with many of his braves armed with bows and arrows, but bringing little food and that held very high. Smith upbraided him for his false promises, saying: "You know my want, I your plenty; of which by some means I must have part: remember it is fit for kings to keep their promises." He offered to give Opechancanough his choice of the English goods and let his people have the rest in trade. Opechancanough agreed, sold them what he had and promised to bring a larger company and more provisions on the morrow. Next day Smith left the barges and pinnace in charge of Phetiplace (one of the chroniclers

of these events) and, with his fifteen, marched up to Opechancanough's house where they found four or five men, each with a huge basket. Opechancanough entered and "with a strained cheerfulness" was telling Smith what pains he had taken to keep his promise, when Doctor Russell informed him that "at least seven hundred Salvages, well armed" had surrounded the house. Smith made his "fifteen" a heartening speech, saying, in part:

"Let us fight like men and not die like sheepe: for by that means you know God hath delivered mee, and so I will trust him now. . . . Promise me you will be valiant." Smith then proposed to Opechancanough to meet him in hand to hand combat on an isle in the river. "My body shall be as naked as yours . . . the victor to be Lord and Master over all our men." While consulting with the Indian he discovered that a plot was being made to murder him. In a rage he ordered "Lieutenant Pearcie, Master West and the rest to make good the house," Master Powell and Master Behethland to "guard the door." Then he grasped Opechancanough's scalplock, "in the midst of his men," and pressed his pistol against the chief's breast. "Thus he led the trembling king, neare dead with feare amongst all his people." Opechancanough delivered up his vambrace, bow and arrows, and all his men laid down their arms, "little dreaming any durst in that manner have used their king."

Men, women and children now brought in their baskets of provisions, for which they received presents with which they were "well contented." The rest of the day was spent "with much kindnesse."

"In the midst of the contention with Opechancanough (about Jan. 22, 1609) Richard Wyffin arrived from Jamestown to bring "the President . . . heavie newes," Scrivener, whom Smith had left in charge of Jamestown, had gone in a skiff to Hog Island, taking with him Captain Waldo, Anthony Gosnold, and eight others. After a violent storm, the finding, by Indians, of the bodies of all ten of the Englishmen proved that "in that extreme, frozen time, the boat had sunk." Wyffin had volunteered to go alone to find and tell the Presi-

dent. He first went to Wërwocomico where, of course, he did not find Smith. Pocahontas hid him from Indians who pursued him, whom she sent "a contrary way," and at length he found Smith and the rest at Pamunkeytown. Smith charged him to conceal his bad news from the others, "dissembled" his own sorrow and leaving Opechancanough at liberty, sailed down the river. Next morning "the fields appeared covered with people with baskets to tempt us on shore." Smith, with Percy, West, and Russell, completely armed, landed. Powhatan with "two or three hundred" of his warriors marching in two crescents and "some twentie men and women bearing painted baskets filled with provisions, came forward to meet them, but when they saw the Englishmen's arms they took to their heels. Five or six days after . . . in the extreme frost and snow, they brought us provision on their naked backs." Says the chronicler: "Men may thinke it strange there should be such a stirre for a little corne, but without it the whole colony had starved."

Next day the colonists sailed up the present Pamunkey and Matapony rivers where they found the Indians "in want and povertie." They shared what little they had with the pale faces, but "with such complaints and teares from the eyes of the women and children" that he would have been "too cruell to have beene a Christian that would not have beene satisfied and moved to compassion."

The party returned to Jamestown about February 8. During the excursion of not quite six weeks they had, in exchange for twenty-five pounds of copper, fifty pounds of iron, and a few bushels of beads, obtained enough food to keep the forty-six men, to reward each man with a month's provision, and to deliver nearly two hundred pounds weight of deer suet and nearly five hundred bushels of corn to the Cape merchant for the public storehouse. During their absence the rations of the soldiers at James Fort had been corn "so rotten with the last summers rayne and eaten with rats and wormes as the Hogges would scarcely eate it." Now with the larder replenished, "the feare of starving was abandoned . . . and six houres of each

day was spent in worke, the rest in Pastime and merry exercises."

Smith was now not only President but the whole Council. Gasnold had died, Wingfield, Archer, Ratcliffe, Newport, and Martin were in England. Percy was apparently too sick to act. Scrivener and Waldo had drowned. By the charter, the Council had been made a self-perpetuating body. The people had no power to fill vacancies. Smith as President and sole Council member had every power but one—that of appointing new councillors. He was in sole command. "The country's sickness" and malnutrition had robbed most of the colonists of energy, but Smith realized that this inertia must be thrown off if the colony were to survive. In an invigorating speech he laid down a new law: "He that will not worke shall not eate," and assured them of his power to enforce it. To encourage industry, he set up a board bearing the names of faithful workers—a sort of honour roll—and resorted to punishment of those who needed more positive urging.

Hostilities now began between the colonists and the Paspasheighs—the colonists' nearest Indian neighbours. In expeditions led by Smith and Wynne several of the Indians were killed, their houses destroyed and canoes captured, but peace which lasted as long as Smith was in Virginia was made, on condition that the Indians remained in their own villages, cultivated their fields and brought food to Jamestown. Other trouble-makers were the Dutch mechanics brought over to "make glasse," who had been sent to Powhatan to build him a house, and who treacherously made arms for the Indians and taught them how to use them. The "glasse-house" was mentioned by Smith as in the woods about a mile from Jamestown. Its location is still known and beads have been picked up there. The peace with the Paspasheighs was followed for a time by a period of friendly intercourse with all the Indian tribes. During February, March, and April, 1609, life at Jamestown went on quietly and busily. A quantity of tar, pitch, and soap ashes was prepared to be sent to England. A well of "excellent sweet water," which was acutely needed was made in the fort. Some "twentie houses" were built. The

church was re-roofed. Nets and weirs for fishing were made. A blockhouse was built on the peninsula, guarded by a garrison, "to entertain the Salvages trade," and prevent any from passing or repassing whether English or Indian, without the President's order. Thirty or forty acres of ground were cultivated and planted. Three sows kindly presented the colony with large families of pigs and nearly five hundred chickens "brought up themselves without having any meat given them"—Hurrah for the fat, juicy Jamestown grasshoppers! The little pigs were removed to Hog Island, where also a block house was built and garrisoned (to give notice of any shipping) and, for exercise, the soldiers cut down trees and made clapboard and wainscot to be sent to England. They built, too, a fort for a retreat near a convenient river, "upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assailed and easie to be defended." This fort, (doubtless intended as a defence against both Indians and Spaniards) indicated on Smith's map by the words "the new fort," was near the mouth of Gray's Creek, opposite Jamestown. Some miles up this creek on a farm still known as Smith's Fort, is a high bluff overlooking the winding creek and facing a wide expanse of marsh, opposite. A short distance back of the bluff traces of earthworks remain. Surry County records show that the Smith's Fort tract of land was later given by the "Indian King," Opechancanough, to his nephew Thomas Rolfe, son of Pocahontas.

In April, examination of the supply of corn stored in casks showed that much of it had been lost by decay and destruction by rats, which had originally come in ships and had rapidly increased. "This did drive us all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded." It was too early for crops, wild fruits or berries, but for sixteen days after the loss was discovered the Indians brought quantities of game to Jamestown, to exchange for the fascinating English trading goods. All public work stopped—"it being work sufficient to provide victual." The only hope of keeping the colonists alive was to scatter them. They could not be fed at crowded Jamestown. Smith sent sixty or eighty with Ensign

Saxon down the river to live upon oysters, twenty with Percy, to fish at Point Comfort, but Percy's sickness and dissensions among the party under him caused little to be accomplished. Another party was sent under West to the Falls of James River, but found nothing but acorns. According to Smith's story, thirty or forty (doubtless those who were well) bore most of the burden of feeding the whole colony at this time. Quantities of sturgeon and other fish were caught but, of course, even hungry men could not stomach a diet of fish exclusively, for long. Smith says that with the addition of "tuckahoe roots" and herbs they lived well "considering such a diet." The colonists not included in the scattered parties mentioned were severely criticized by him for idleness and desire to sell their utensils, tools, arms, even their houses, for corn if it could be had, and when assured that it could not, to abandon the country. Many of these men were, we may be sure, not only weakened by malnutrition but racked by chills and fevers, for the sickly season had set in. Their wills and energies were destroyed by the deadly malaria germ so ever-present at Jamestown at that period, and so little understood.

Smith's severity is said to have induced the indolent ones to "so bestirre themselves" that of the two hundred people in Virginia ("except those that were drowned") only seven died in the nine months from October 1608 to July 1609. Many of the colonists were billeted with the Indians and by learning their customs were able to give valuable information.

Help for the hungry colony was at hand. It was borne by the white wings of the usual angel of mercy, an English ship. Captain Samuel Argall sent out to find a more direct way from England to Virginia than the customary route by the Canaries, and also to fish for sturgeon in Virginia waters, arrived first at Point Comfort and later in the day at Jamestown, on July 10. His ship was "well furnished with wine and other good provision." And, "though it was not sent us," says Smith, "our necessities was such as inforced us to take it." Almost as welcome as the change of diet was the news of a great supply of planters and provisions for Virginia to be sent soon, and preparations going forward in England for

a new charter, under Lord Delaware as the colony's first "Governor and Captain General." Captain Argall also brought Smith letters from the Company reprimanding him for rumoured "severity toward the Indians" and for failure to send the ships freighted with valuable commodities.

While the colonists are enjoying their feast and expressing their indignation at the Company's criticism, let us away to England with all the speed we may to verify Captain Argall's news.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECOND CHARTER

IT WAS true! London was agog with it. The Virginia Company, realizing the awkwardness of government by self-perpetuating Council, provided for Virginia, had secured for the gasping but not dead colony a new, more liberal and more practical charter. It provided for a Governor and Captain General, and Thomas, Lord Delaware, had been chosen for the place. A good Elizabethan was he—a relative of the great Queen herself, by whom he had been knighted. Though not possessed of towering ability, he was an Oxford man of sound sense and devotion to duty. At thirty-two years of age, he was a distinguished veteran of the Netherlands, knighted for bravery; a member of the Privy Council of both Elizabeth and James, enthusiastic for founding colonies in America, kind, good and self-sacrificing. His appointment as Virginia's first Lord Governor was for life. He was not at first expected to go in person to the colony, where we have already seen his young brother, Captain Francis West, but was to remain in England looking after Virginia's interests, while Sir Thomas Gates, another brave Elizabethan and veteran of the Netherlands, would go as Lieutenant-Governor and Sir George Somers, distinguished naval officer, as admiral of the great fleet of nine ships that was being made ready to take over the colony's second charter and a numerous company of settlers—men, women and children.

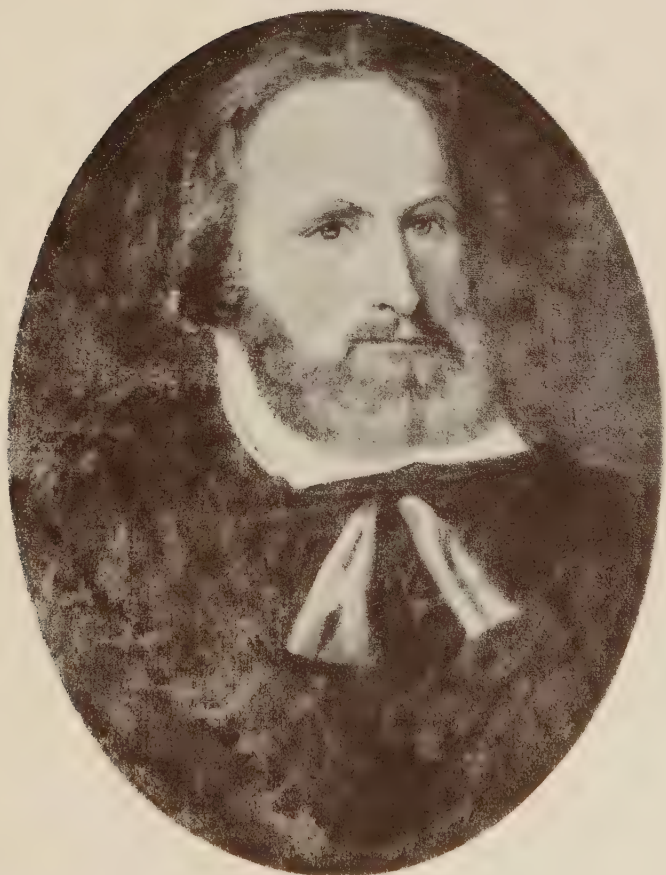
Of course Captain Christopher Newport was not to be left out. He was to be entrusted with the fleet and to command the Admiral's ship, the *Sea Venture*.

The reorganized Virginia Company was incorporated under the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia." Point Comfort was chosen as the centre of the eastern boundary of the colony, which was to extend two hundred miles north of this historic point and two hundred

south of it. This gave it all of the present Maryland and Delaware and most of North Carolina. Its western boundary was the Pacific Ocean, for it was to extend "from sea to sea." Under the new charter the King's Council for Virginia was abolished and a Treasurer and Council composed of members of the Company of London were appointed. Its first members were named by the King, but their successors were to be elected by vote of the whole membership of the Company—six hundred and fifty-nine persons and fifty-six trade guilds. The Treasurer and Council of this great corporation were authorized to appoint all officers in the colony and make such laws and regulations as they might deem necessary for its government.

The Company was to be free from customs for twenty-one years except five per cent on goods imported into England or English dominions and even these goods could be exported from England without duties. The Company was given freedom from all other taxes forever. All persons who should "adventure" money were to be admitted to membership in the Company. The Treasurer and Company were authorized to grant lands in Virginia either to the settlers there or the "adventurers" of money, in England. As in the first charter, all who should "go and inhabit" in the colony and every one of their children and posterity that should happen to be born within any of the limits thereof should "enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects as if they had been abiding and born in England." Its first Treasurer, as the head of the Virginia Company was called, was Sir Thomas Smith, a merchant prince and able business man of London, who was also head, with the title of President, of the great East India Company.

The new charter was a liberal and democratic paper. Queen Elizabeth herself could not have dealt more generously with her subjects struggling to plant England's flag and church in the New World. It is believed to have been written by her courtier, Lord Bacon, most brilliant man of her reign (after Shakespeare) and a member of the Virginia Company. All the names of trade guilds that were members of the Company



LORD DELAWARE
"GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN GENERAL," FOR LIFE, OF VIRGINIA
The saviour of the Colony in 1610
From a painting in the Virginia State Library

are mentioned in the charter. It is an impressive list. Here are many, many of the nobility of highest rank and worthiness, scores of knights and gentlemen, every imaginable trade guild which contributed to the comfort, convenience, and safety of life, many, many indispensable merchants and mechanics. Men high and low that made the London of the time, by contributing, each according to his own powers of brain and brawn—a great Company, working together to plant in far-away America a worthy child of old England. Among notables in the list are the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's friend and patron; Earl of Pembroke; Lord Delaware; Sir Thomas Smith, appointed by the charter to his place of Treasurer; Sir Horatio Vere, famous soldier; Sir Maurice Berkeley, probably an ancestor of Virginia's cavalier Governor, Sir William Berkeley; Sir Edwin Sandys, after a while to succeed Smith as Treasurer; Sir Dudley Digges, later to be one of the leaders of the House of Commons and father of a governor of Virginia; Lord Bacon, most famous of them all. Says Herbert L. Osgood, the distinguished historian, writing of the records of the Virginia Company of London, "Their pages cast in a style which is quite unusual in records of this nature, make one realize that he is in the company of noble and earnest spirits, men who were conscious that they engaged in a great enterprise. The Court Book . . . will be found to be a worthy monument of English speech, as it was used at the close of Elizabethan epoch and by contemporaries of Shakespeare and Bacon."

One name is conspicuously absent from these records, that of Sir Walter Raleigh. When so much of interest was coming to pass touching a matter so close to his heart as the colonization of Virginia, Raleigh was confined in the Tower, unable to bear even the smallest part. It is easy to imagine the animation with which he turned from the literary work which beguiled the hours of his imprisonment to drink in every word that rumour brought him of the activities of the Virginia Company.

Among these activities was the sending out of circulars giving rosy views of the colony and inviting all who would

go with "the present voyage to Virginia" to "come to the house of Sir Thomas Smythe in Filpot Lane" and be "entertained as adventurers." Generally, adventurers meant stockholders—those who adventured money. Those that went in person were "planters." But now both subscribers (who became members of the Company) and those who emigrated to the colony (and whose passage was paid) were known as adventurers.

Early in 1609 was published and widely circulated in England "Nova Britannia" a pamphlet by Robert Johnson, the Company's new deputy-treasurer (a London alderman) explaining the hopes and plans of the Company. In it the principal objects of the colony were declared to be, "First, to advance the kingdom of God; second, to advance the kingdom of England; and third, to relieve and preserve those already in the colony and to lay a solid foundation for the good of this Commonwealth."

All charges of "settling and maintaining" the colony were ordered to be met by a joint-stock company of the adventurers for seven years after the date of the new charter. There were to be no dividends or returns of any kind until the end of this period. As the Company was paying the whole cost, all profits should be turned back into the Company's treasury.

Great enthusiasm was aroused by the new charter and new members of the Company poured in. On April 25, 1609, Dr. William Symonds, "Preacher of St. Saviour's, in Southwark" (the same who in 1624 edited part of John Smith's "Generall Historie" of Virginia) preached a sermon before the "most noble and worthy advancers of the Standard of Christ among the Gentiles, the adventurers for the plantation of Virginia." It was published "for the benefit and use of the colony planted and to be planted there for the advancement of their Christian Purpose," "to be sold in Paul's Churchyard, at the Signe of the Windmill." On May 28, at Paul's Cross, Rev. Daniel Price, M. A., Chaplain to Prince Henry, preached from the text, "Saul, Saul why persecutest thou me?" an open air sermon denouncing persons who discouraged emigration to Virginia. Said he, "The philosopher com-

mendeth the temperature; the polititian, the opportunity; the divine, the piety in converting so many thousand souls. The Virginian desireth it and the Spaniard envieth us, and yet our own lazy, drowsy, yet barking countrymen traduce it, who should honour it if it was but for the remembrance of that Virginia Queen of eternal memory, who was first God-mother to that land and nation." This sermon was "Printed to be sold in Paul's Churchyard, neare unto Saint Austine's at the Signe of the Fox, 1609." In addition to sermons several books encouraging emigration were published. "Nova Britannia" offering "most excellent fruites by Planting in Virginia," was printed "to be sold at the signe of the Bul-head," another of the bookshops in St. Paul's Churchyard.

On June 2, 1609, four days after Price's sermon, Sir Thomas Gates, Deputy Governor of Virginia and Sir George Somers, Admiral, sailed from Plymouth with the fleet of nine ships filled with colonists. Gates was a member of Parliament at the time. During a debate on the following February fourteenth as to whether in his absence he should retain his seat Sir George More (opposing his removal) said, "it is no disgrace, but a grace to be Governor of Virginia."

Later on, when Lord Delaware decided to go in person to Virginia, the great divine William Crashaw, preacher of the famous and beautiful Temple Church of London, speeded him on his way with a sermon from the text: "But I have prayed for thee that thy faith faile not; Therefore when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." The sculptured knights of the crusades which adorn the interior of the Temple Church made a fitting atmosphere for Crashaw's words to the departing Delaware who had been described as "going to Virginia like a valiant knight to contend for civilization and the faith once delivered to the Saints."

To return to the new charter and the fleet of nine ships, two of which were small pinnaces, they left Plymouth on June 2, 1609. In the Admiral's ship, the *Sea Venture*, sailed (in addition to Sir George Somers, Sir Thomas Gates, and Captain Newport) William Strachey, Secretary of the colony, who wrote an account of the voyage afterward published in

"Purchas His Pilgrimes," Parson Bucke, John Rolfe and his first wife and their child. Gabriel Archer, returning to Virginia, was in the *Blessing*. "On St. James his day, July 24, being Monday," the fleet was scattered and the *Sea Venture* separated from the other ships by "a dreadfull storme and hideous . . . from out the northeast, which swelling and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more violence than others, at length did beate all light from heaven; which like an hell of darkness turned black upon us. The violence of the storm made us look one upon the other with troubled hearts and panting bosoms; our clamours drowned in the windes and the windes in thunder." On Tuesday a "mighty leake" was discovered. "Our Governor caused the whole company, about one hundred and forty, besides women, to be equally divided into three parts . . . appointed each man where to attend; and thereunto every man duly upon his watch took the Bucket or Pumpe for one houre and rested another. . . . Our Governor and Admirall themselves not refusing their turne. The common sort stripped naked as men in gallies." On Friday they were on the point of giving up (having worked since Tuesday without food or sleep) when Sir George Somers cried: "Land!" The storm was beginning to break. They managed to run the leaking ship aground within a mile of the shore "by the mercy of God," and taking to their boats, "had ere night brought all our men, women and children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the land"—which turned out to be one of the islands of the Bermudas, commonly called the "Devils Islands" and "feared and avoided by all travellers alive," because they were believed to be "given over to Devils and wicked spirits." Our castaways found their island uninhabited by either devils or people, but fertile and fruitful—abounding in wild hogs, ducks and other wild fowl, and their eggs, fish, crabs, and oysters. They made themselves comfortable in light cabins constructed of the broad leaves of the palmetto. Plenty of tools were salvaged from the *Sea Venture* and four carpenters and a capable shipwright named Frobisher were among the passengers saved. These cut down trees and set to work to

build of them and the timbers of the wrecked ship two small vessels, to be named the *Patience* and *Deliverance*, to take the castaways on to Virginia. They were ignorant of the fate of the rest of their fleet.

Parson Bucke preached two sermons every Sunday and "besides, every Morning and Evening at the ringing of the Bell, we repayred all to publique Prayer, at what times the names of our whole Company were called by Bill," and those not present were "duly punished. . . . The contents (for the most part) of all our Preacher's Sermons were especially of Thankfulnesse and Unitie." On October 1 and on Christmas Eve, "our minister preached a godly Sermon . . . and celebrated a Communion, with Governor Gates and most of the Company present."

There were a marriage, two births, and Christenings, four natural deaths and a murder while the castaways were on the island. There was to be a hanging, but the murderer was pardoned. When the two ships were finished Governor Gates fastened a Cross made of some of the timber of the wrecked *Sea Venture* "against the trunk of a mightie cedar which grew in the midst of Sir George Somers' garden. . . . In the midst of the Crosse our Governor fastened the Picture of his Majestie in a piece of silver of twelve pence and on each side of the Crosse he set an inscription graven in copper in the Latine and English, In memory of our great Deliverance and to honour of God."

Shakespeare's play "The Tempest," is believed to have been suggested by the wreck of the *Sea Venture*.

While the castaways are busy ship-building in the Bermudas we will follow the rest of the fleet to Virginia. The *Blessing*, the *Lion*, the *Falcon*, and the *Unity* were the first of the ships to weather the great storm and reach Jamestown. "Later," writes Gabriel Archer, who had come in on the *Blessing*, "the *Diamond*, commanded by Ratcliffe, arrived in bad shape . . . many of her men very sicke and weake" and with no news of the *Sea Venture* and Governor Gates. "Some three or foure days after her came in the *Swallow*," also disabled, "neither did she see our Admirall." Archer says they found

the colonists at Jamestown all in health for the most part, having been relieved of great distress by Captain Argall's sturgeon and other supplies. A member of the expedition quoted by Smith says some of the ships "had lost their masts, some their sayles blowne from their Yards; the seas so over-raking our Ships, much of our provision was spoyled . . . our men sicke and many dyed: and in this miserable estate we arrived in Virginia."

Immediately on the landing of the newcomers from the various ships violent dissensions arose, at the instigation of Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, bitterly hostile to Smith, but chiefly engaged in by the newcomers, many of whom (according to Smith) were "unruly gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies," and who in the absence of Gates expected to take charge of the government of the colony. During several days of confusion demands were made that Smith resign the presidency to Lord Delaware's brother, Francis West, who was the choice of one faction. As the colonists had no right to elect a president, Smith properly held that he should continue in office until instructions were received from the authorities in England. Evidently a strong body of the colonists were on Smith's side for Percy says that in a few days everything was settled peacefully, leaving Smith president.

Captain John now had his hands full. The hundreds of new settlers brought by the ships had to be housed and fed. To take care of them all at Jamestown was impossible. Though Percy criticizes Smith severely, his account of expeditions to the Falls and Nansemond practically corroborates Smith's. Little Powhatan had been friendly to the English from the first and Smith realized the danger of antagonizing him and his people. Percy was still not well and Smith granted his request to return to England, but in the interim before he sailed, arranged for him and Martin (who had been ailing since his first arrival in Virginia) to go with three score of the newcomers to Nansemond. Captain Martin's lieutenant led most of the men overland and Martin and Percy, each with a "Company" sailed down the James to the mouth of the

Nansemond, which enters Hampton Roads opposite Newport News. Arrived there, they saw nothing of Lieutenant Sicklemore and the colonists, and the Indians would say nothing about them. Percy, anxious about them, went ashore in the wet, stormy night and found the English encamped, safe and comfortable, by good fires. Next morning he notified Martin, who had declined to join him in the search for the men, but now with his own company went immediately ashore. He and Percy sent two messengers to the king of Nansemond with a proposition to buy from him for an English settlement with "copper, hatchets, and other commodities" a small island and the village on it, in the Nansemond River opposite the mainland where they then were. They never saw their messengers again, but learned from the Indians that "they weare sacrificsed and that their Braynes weare cutt and scraped outt of their heades with mussell shelles."

Percy, Martin, and their companies, in revenge, landed on the island, beat the Indians out of it, "burned their howses, Bansaked their Temples, Tooke down the Corpses of their deade kings from off their Tombes and caryed away their pearles, copper and Braceletts, wherewith they doe decorate their kings funeralles." Martin took the king's son prisoner and carried him, bound, to the island, but refused to take Percy's advice to seize "great store of maize" upon the mainland, for fear of putting his men in danger. Percy says that having seen Martin well settled on his captured island, he returned with Captain Nelson of the *Phoenix* to Jamestown "according to apoyntement." He says that soon after, Smith sent Captain Francis West with one hundred and forty of the newcomers up to the Falls with "sixe months victtewells, to inhabit there" but "divers" of the men straggled from their fort, some of them coming to Jamestown, wounded. Others were killed by the Indians and never heard of again. Both Smith and Percy say that Smith set out for the Falls to investigate matters. He met West coming back to Jamestown. He found West's party seated in a place subject to the river's inundation and surrounded by "intollerable inconveniences." He sent Little Powhatan a message that

if he would sell him the place called "Powhatan Seat" he would protect him from his enemies, the Monocans. Henry Spelman, the interpreter, charged that he was part of the price paid for "Powhatan Seat," and Percy that Smith encouraged the Indians to enmity against West and his party, both of which charges were of course preposterous. True, Smith says that the "unruly gallants" made so much trouble with the Indians that the red men complained that those he brought them for protection were "worse enemies than the Monocans themselves" and begged his pardon if they defended themselves from them, since he could not correct them, and offered to fight for him against them, if he would lead them. Smith, while he dealt in a masterful way with the Indians, to save the colonists from starvation and made them give up as much of their corn as he could possibly extort from them in trade for his English trinkets, never attacked them unnecessarily or made quarrels with them. He tells in detail how he made peace between them and the English. Six or seven of the chief offenders he "put by the heales." "The rest he seated gallantly at Powhatan, in that Salvage Fort readie built and prettily fortified with poles and barks of trees, sufficient to have defended them from all the salvages in Virginia, dry houses for lodging and neere two hundred acres of ground ready to be planted and no place we know so strong, so pleasant, and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it None Such." But as soon as Smith returned to Jamestown and West returned to the Falls, this high, dry, beautifully situated settlement was abandoned and its occupants returned to West's Fort on the low shore of the river. Early in the eighteenth century the land to which Smith gave the name "None Such" became the property of the Mayo family. Under its original name of "Powhatan Seat," it was one of the most attractive plantations and homes in Virginia until recent times when it was absorbed into the business life of Richmond. Its picturesque homestead, shrubberies and gardens disappeared, even the graves were removed to Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond. Now the ground on which Little Powhatan held his court and later the varied scenes of Vir-

ginia home life were enacted is covered by brickyards and railroad tracks.

On Smith's return down the river to Jamestown a spark accidentally fell on his powder bag, causing it to explode, and he was terribly burned. There being "neither chirurgion nor chirurgery" at Jamestown to relieve him, he decided to sail for England in the ship to depart next day. Percy says (in a recently discovered manuscript, "True Relation,"¹) that when Smith arrived at Jamestown, seriously wounded, and not expected to live, Ratcliffe, Archer, and Martin "practysed againste him and deposed him of his government." These "three busy instruments in the plantation" then offered the presidency to Percy who at first declined it because of his ill health, but on their promise to act for him until his recovery, he gave up the idea of going to England and accepted the office, which placed him for a third time at the head of the colony. Two weeks later he sent Ratcliffe to Point Comfort to build a fort there, catch fish and look out for any ships that might arrive. The missing *Sea Venture* was still watched for. Soon afterward Martin returned to Jamestown, leaving Lieut. Sicklemore in command of his Nansemond island. Percy charges that Martin abandoned his post for fear of the Indians. In his absence seventeen of his men went off in a boat to Kecoughtan saying that they were going to trade for food, but they were evidently murdered by Indians. The bodies of Sicklemore and "divers others" were found—their mouths stuffed with bread, as a sign of what others might expect in the way of relief from them. Next came Captain West with the remainder of his party from the Falls, after having lost many of his men there and eleven at Arrohattock, near the present Dutch Gap. Percy could not refuse them

¹ The first three and the last three of the 44 pages of this 300-years-old manuscript were found in 1884, in the library of Lord Leconfield at "Petworth House," Sussex (an ancestral home of the Percy family), and were copied for Edward D. Neill, the historian. A few years ago Ambassador George Harvey, at the request of Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, late President of William and Mary College, obtained consent of Lord Leconfield to have the whole manuscript copied and presented it, through Dr. Tyler, to the Virginia State Library. Dr. Tyler printed it in his "Quarterly," but it is now for the first time used in a Virginia History.

protection and food, though "seeing our number at Jamestowne increasinge and our store decreasinge" made him uneasy. He appointed Captain Daniel Tucker to make a calculation as to how long the "store" would last. He reported that allowing half a can of meal a day for a man it would last three months, "Yett Capte: Tucker by his industry and care caused the same to howlde outt fowere monthes." His "industry" doubtless refers to successful effort to secure other food. Percy says he sent Ratcliffe with fifty men to Powhatan to trade for food, but that he allowed himself to be fooled by the "subtele owlde foxe," who put him off with fair promises and as soon as opportunity arose had nearly all of Ratcliffe's men murdered and then caused Ratcliffe himself to be stripped and bounde to a tree, with a fire before him and the women to scrape the flesh from his bones and throw it into the fire "before his face." Of the fifty who had sailed in the pinnace with Ratcliffe, only Captain William Phettipace with sixteen others escaped to return to Jamestown and tell their tragic story. Percy then sent Captain James Davis to command the new fort at Point Comfort to which had been given the name of Fort Algernon—a favorite Christian name in the family of Percy, Earls of Northumberland. It had been commanded by the luckless Ratcliffe. West was sent to Potomac with "about thirty-six men to trade for maize and grayne," and succeeded in filling the pinnace, but in a spirit of revenge he cut off the heads of two Indians. Passing Algernon Fort, Captain Davis called to West telling him of the great want at Jamestown and urging him to make haste to relieve it. But West's company forced him to sail directly to England. Now Percy grimly proceeds to describe the "Starving Time"—to tell how all at Jamestown began to feel the "sharpe pricke of hunger which no man can trewly describe butt he wech hath Tasted the bitternesse thereof." Some robbed the public store and Percy had them executed. They fed upon horses and other beasts as long as they lasted and then were glad to "make shifte" with cats, rats, and mice. To "satisfye crewell hunger," they even ate boots and shoes and when these were all devoured searched the woods to feed

upon serpents and snakes and to "digge the earthe for wylde unknowne Rootes. . . . And now famine began to look so gastly and pale in every face that nothing was spared that would maintain life." "Things which seame incredible" were done. Some went so far as to "Digge up dead corpses outt of graves and to eate them" and one crazed man "murdered his wife and salted her for his foode," for which Percy had him executed.

In hope of finding food, "many of our men this Starveinge Tyme did Runn Away unto the Salvages, whome we never heard of after." Jamestown was reduced to one boat and one canoe for fishing and other purposes. Captain Tucker "by his greate industry and paines" built a large boat with his own hands which, says Percy, "did kepe us from killing one another." Percy went to Point Comfort to see how the party at Fort Algernon fared and to be revenged on the Kicoughtan Indians who had murdered "divers" of the colonists. He found Captain Davis and his men comparatively well provided, "taxed" Davis with keeping their plenty secret and planning to sail for England in the two pinnaces at anchor in Hampton Roads, and declared his intention to bring half of his men at a time from Jamestown to be relieved at Algernon, and if this would not save their lives to bring them all at once to the fort, for "Another towne or forte might be erected . . . but mens lives once Loste colde never be recovered."

While President Percy discussed with Captain Davis carrying out his plan "the very nexte Tyde," they "espyed" two pinnaces coming into the bay. O God, can it be that relief is at hand? They kept watch all night and next morning "espyed" a boat coming from one of the pinnaces toward the fort. They hailed it and learned "with no small joy" that Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were aboard the pinnaces, built in the Bermudas.

CHAPTER IX

LORD DELAWARE

ON MAY 10, 1610, the *Patience* and *Deliverance* had set sail from the Bermudas. On May 21, they sighted Cape Henry and entered "the famous Chesapeake Bay." When they arrived at Point Comfort, "The good news of our ships' and men's arrival last yeare did not a little comfort our Governor." Strachey's words—but ashore, he had "new, unexpected, uncomfortable and heavie newes" of conditions at Jamestown. On the next tide the two pinnaces sailed away and cast anchor, "on the three and twentieth of May," before Jamestown where, says Percy's "Trew Relacyon" "they mighte Reade a lecture of miserie in our people's faces, and perceive the skarsety of victewalles." Says Strachey, "Our much grieved Governor (Gates) first visited the Church and caused the Bell to be rung at which all such as were able to come forth of their houses repayred to the Church." There the newly arrived minister, Master Bucke, "made a zealous and sorrowfull Prayer," after which Sir Thomas Gates had Strachey to read his commission as Governor and Percy "delivered up unto him his commission as president . . . the old patent and the Councell Seales. . . ." According to Percy's "Trew Relacyon," of five hundred men there were only about sixty left, the rest having died from disease or starvation or at the hands of the Indians. Some of those left were evidently crazed by their sufferings, for "It was lamentable to behold them run naked out of their beds, so emaciated that they looked like anatomies, cryeing outt, 'we are starved, we are starved.' Others who went to bed, as we imagined in health were found dead next morning. One Hugh Pryse . . . in a furious, distracted moode, did come openly into the market place Blaspheameinge, exclaimeinge and cryeing outt that there was noe god, for if there were he would not let his creatures perish from starvation." The murderous red men put an end to his sufferings the same day.

Says Strachey: "Viewing the Fort we found the Pallisadoes torne downe, the Ports open, the Gates from off the hinges and emtie houses (whose Owners death had taken from them) rent up and burnt, rather than the dwellers would step into the woods a stone's cast off from them for fire wood." Of course the ill and dying colonists could not cut down trees, and the chronicler adds: "The Indian killed as fast without, if our men stirred beyond the bounds of the Block House, as Famine and Pestilence did within. . . . In this desolation and misery our Governor found the condition and state of the colonie . . . with no hope how to amend it or save his owne company and those yet remaining alive," for they had brought from Bermuda only enough provisions to serve a hundred and fifty men for a sea voyage. No sturgeon was yet in the river, nothing could be had from the Indians, as it was "but their seedtime and all their corne scarce put into the ground."

Governor Gates made a speech to the sufferers, promising that "what provision he had they should equally share with him and if he should find it not possible and easy to supply them with something from the country by the endeavours of his able men hee would make readie and transport them all in their native country, at which there was a generall acclamation and shoute of joy." He made a calculation as to how long his provisions would last and found it not possible to divide them among so many for more than sixteen days. Thereupon he conferred with Sir George Somers, Captain Newport and the Councilors of the former government (Percy, Martin, and Archer) and decided that to save all from starving the only course was to abandon the colony and sail in the four pinnaces then in the river (The *Patience*, the *Deliverance*, the *Discovery* and the *Virginia*) for Newfoundland, "where (being the fishing time) they might meete with many English ships into which they might disperse most of the company."

The provisions were divided among the four pinnaces. Gates "commanded every man at the beating of the Drum to repaire aboard and because some threatened to set fire to the town before leaving it, he himself was the last on

shore," for said he "we knowe nott butt thatt as honeste men as ourselves may come and inhabit here." On that evening, June 7, 1610, they "fell down the river" to Hog Island and on next morning's tide to Mulberry Island—in the present Warwick County. Lying at anchor there they "suddenly espyed" a long boat making toward them from Point Comfort. Aboard it was Captain Edward Brewster sent from Lord Delaware, who had arrived at Point Comfort and there learned of Gates' determination to abandon the country. Captain Brewster told Governor Gates that his Lordship had come from England "with many gentlemen of quality and three hundred men, besides great store of provision" to aid Virginia. On receipt of the good news Gates "bore up the helme" and returned to Jamestown and that night, June 8, (the winde being so favourable) relanded all his men at the Fort again.

Early in the year news had reached England of the supposed loss in the *Sea Venture* of Lord Delaware's deputy, Sir Thomas Gates, and his Lordship determined to go in person to Virginia. In a letter (September, 1610) to the Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England, principal minister of James I, Lord Delaware tells of his departure, April 1, from Cowes with "three good shippes" and in them a hundred and fifty planters for the colony, and supplies. He describes his rough voyage tossed about by contrary winds for more than two months, early during which he completely lost sight of one of his ships, the *Hercules*. His own ship the *De La Warr* at last cast anchor at Cape Henry on June 5, and next day, as he turned into James River, he espied a sail which proved to be the missing *Hercules*. Arriving at Point Comfort the same day he "met such cold comfort" that it would have broken his heart and made him unable to do his king or country any service had it not been accompanied by the "most happie newes" of Sir Thomas Gates' arrival. He tells of sending Gates word of his own arrival which "newes I knewe would alter that resolution of his," and of following him on to Jamestown "with all possible speede."

"On the tenth of June," says Strachey, Lord Delaware's

ships arrived and he came ashore "with Sir Ferdinando Weinman and all his Lordship's followers." He adds: "Upon his Lordship's landing at the south gate of the Pallizado (which looks upon the River), our Governor caused his company in arms to stand in order, and make a Guard. It pleased him that I should beare his colours for that time. His Lordship, landing, fell upon his knees and before us all, make a long and silent Prayer . . . and after marched up into the Towne, where at the Gate, I bowed with the colours, and let them fall at his Lordship's feete, who passed into the Chappell, where we heard a Sermon by Master Bucke." Delaware then had his ensign, Anthony Scott, to read his Commission, "which entitled him Lord Governor and Captain General during his life, of the Colony and Plantation in Virginia (Sir Thomas Gates, our Governor hitherto being now stiled therein Lieutenant General)." Lord Delaware says he found Jamestown "a verie noysome and unholsome place," and the next day he set the sailors to work to unload the ships and the land's men, some to clean up the town, others to make charcoal for the blacksmiths. He also sent fishermen out to provide fish in order to save other provision, but they had "ill success." On June 12 the governor "elected unto him" a "Counsell" and appointed "divers Capitaines and Gentlemen" to as many offices. The names of George Yeardley and Samuel Argall appear as members of the new Council. Under Governor Delaware and later under Dale, the colony was strictly a military government. "William Strachey, Esquire," whom Delaware appointed Secretary and Recorder, was the only civilian among the officers.

Some days after the Council's appointment his Lordship sent Robert Tyndell, former Gunner to Prince Henry, in the pinnace *Virginia* to fish near the Capes. The next day Sir George Somers was sent to the Bermudas for hogs and fish. "This old gentleman . . . most cheerfullie and resolutelie undertook the voyage," little dreaming he would never return! His ship was accompanied by that of Argall. In the ocean the two vessels were blown northward by a gale and separated. Somers made his way to Bermuda, where he died.

Argall reached the coast of New England. He fished successfully and, salting his catch, took it to Jamestown late in August, where it proved so helpful that yearly fishing voyages to New England were made for long afterward.

Strachey says that Lord Delaware found Jamestown Church "ruined and unfrequented" but promptly ordered it repaired, "and at this instant many hands are about it. It is in length three score foote, in breadth twenty four and shall have a chancell in it of cedar, and a Communion Table of Black Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire, broad windowes, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpit of the same with a Font hewen hollow like a canoe, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast as to be very light within, and the Lord Governor . . . doth cause it to be kept passing sweet and trimmed up with divers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it, and in it every Sunday wee have Sermons twice a day, and every Thursday a sermon, having two preachers which take their weekly turnes, and every morning at the ringing of a Bell, about ten of the clocke each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Every Sunday when the Governor . . . goeth to Church he is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, and other Officers, and all the Gentlemen, and with a Guard of Halberdiers, in his Lordship's livery faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty both on each side and behind him: and being in the Church his Lordship hath his seate in the Quier in a greene velvet chaire, with a velvet cushion spread on a Table before him, on which he kneeleth and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner."

Of Jamestown houses Strachey reports that they are better built than those which were "first raised" and were destroyed by fire a year later, but "in no great uniformity either for the fashion or beauty of the streete. A delicate wrought fine kind of mat the Indians make, with which . . . our people do dresse their chambers and inward rooms, which make their houses much more handsome. The houses have wide and large

country chimnies . . . they cover their houses (as the Indians) with barkes of Trees . . . and thus armed for the changed times and seasons of the yeare, we hold ourselves well repaid, though wanting Arras, Hangings, Tapestry and gilded Venetian Corduvan or more spruce household garniture and wanton City ornaments, remembering the old epitaph:

‘We dwell not here to build us Bowers and Hals for pleasure and good cheere: But Hals we build for us and ours To dwell in them whilst we live here.’” Strachey further describes Jamestown as “seated in somewhat an unwholesome and sickly ayre, by reason it is a marish ground . . . and hath no water springs . . . but what we draw from a well sixe or seven fathom deepe fed by the brackish River owzing into it, from whence I verily believe the causes have proceeded of many diseases and sicknesses which have happened to our people, who are indeede strangely afflicted with Fluxes and Agues: and every particular season . . . hath his particular infirmity. It is believed that in addition to “the country’s sickness,” the closely packed London ships brought the plague to Jamestown. According to the author of “A true Declaration of Virginia, London, 1610,” in two ships of the Gates-Somers fleet this horrible infection was “somewhat hot.” And yellow fever was taken to the colony by vessels which lingered too long in the tropics. The author quoted above, writing of the timely appearance of Lord Delaware, says: “Never had any people more just cause to cast themselves at the foot-stoole of God, and to reverence his mercy than our distressed Colony.”

Early in July Lord Delaware and his Council sent a report to the Virginia Company of London. The “sickness” had set in. One hundred and fifty had been afflicted at one time, among them the Governor, and Dr. Bohun’s “physicall provisions” were nearly exhausted. The Indians had killed many. Sir Thomas Gates sent Humphrey Blunt after a boat belonging to Fort Algernon which was adrift. Some Indians captured and killed Blunt before the eyes of Gates. Then Sir Thomas, “being desyreous for to be Revenged” upon the Indians of

Kecoughtan, four miles distant sailed thither with a number of men, among them a "Taborer," who when he and his men were landed he caused to play and dance to "allure the Indians to come unto him." They did so and the English attacked them and captured their town. It was the seat of one of Powhatan's sons, with three hundred Indian houses well situated on fertile land "already prepared to receive corn or make vineyards," and with good fishing facilities. The incident made a striking contrast to that of Smith's time when the colonists spent a merry Christmas "in the warm, smoky cabins of Kecoughtan."

Gates, after settling his company in the Indian town returned to Jamestown and soon afterward sailed for England. The Frenchmen who came with Delaware were put to work to plant grape vines. Several of these "vignerons" survived the dangers of the time and in 1627 were granted lands near Kecoughtan.

About the middle of July the building of two forts was begun at Kecoughtan on a little river named by Delaware, Southampton, in honour of Shakespeare's friend and patron, but now shortened to Hampton. The forts were named for Princes Henry and Charles, both of whom the colony delighted to honour. Lord Delaware superintended their building as far as was possible in his weakened condition, and was refreshed in the meantime by the sea breezes. Returning up the river with Captain Argall, Captain Brewster and his company, and Captain Argall with some sailors attacked two towns of the old Chief of Warroskoyack and burnt them, in revenge for treachery of the Chief toward Lord Delaware. The erection of the forts was done by "Ancient planters" who being seasoned to the climate and conditions were able to work. About one hundred and fifty of the settlers died of "pestilent diseases" including yellow fever, within a few months after Delaware's arrival, among them, Sir Ferdinando Weynman "an honeste and valyantt gentleman." A welcome arrival was the ship *Dainty* with thirteen new settlers (one of them a woman), three horses and provisions.

Early in August Lord Delaware sent his kinsman, Captain

William West and Percy with seventy men against the Paspasheighs and Chickahominies in revenge for "proude and daynefull answers" given by Powhatan to demands for return of arms and runaway settlers. They attacked Paspasheigh's town in the night, killing or putting to flight "everyone in it but the queen and her children, burning the houses and cutting down the growing corn." The queen and her children were taken captive and placed on board the boats, but Percy says his soldiers "did murmur" because they were spared, so the children were thrown overboard and shot to death while in the water. He adds: "I had much to doe to save the queen's life for that Tyme." With all the criticisms of John Smith no one ever suggested that he was guilty of such an atrocity as this. When Percy and his party returned to Jamestown they found that Lord Delaware "not being well, did lye a shipboard." Percy and some of his officers rowed out to report to him. He was "joyful" at their safe return, but Captain Davis told Percy that he seemed discontented because the queen's life was spared, and suggested that she be burned. Percy replied that having seen so much bloodshed that day he desired to see no more, and disapproved of having her burned. Yet, though turning away from Captain Davis, he permitted him and two soldiers to take the poor queen ashore and put her to the sword. He says that Davis told him this was by Lord Delaware's direction. "Yett I am persuaded to the contrary."

Lord Delaware now planned an expedition to visit the iron mines at Falling Creek, near the present Richmond, where iron works were established several years later, and to search for the mines of gold that "Faldo, an Helvetian," claimed he could guide the English to. By ordering Captain Yeardley and Holderoft, commanders of the new forts at Kecoughtan, to go with their commands to Jamestown, his Lordship was able to muster a hundred men for the expedition commanded by Captains Brewster and Yeardley. On their way to the Falls the queen of Appomattuck invited some of the Englishmen to a feast during which she "slew divers," and "mortally wounded all the rest, including "all the chief men skill-

ful in finding out mines." In revenge, Captain Percy and Master Stacey with fifty or sixty men, went ashore and burned her town and killed some of her braves at the present Bermuda Hundred. The only Colonist to escape was "Dowse the Taborer." Percy remarks: "The Salvages be nott Soe simple as many imagin who be not acquaynted with their Subtellties, for they had not forgotten how the Kecoughtan Indians had been allured and destroyed by Sir Thomas Gates and that same Taborer."

Soon after this disaster Captain Brewster was sent to the Falls to wait Lord Delaware's coming to engage personally in the search for minerals. Brewster, after "divers encounters and skirmishes with the Indians," reached his destination, where Delaware soon joined him, leaving command of Jamestown to Percy. At the Falls, Delaware had a fort built on an island long afterward known as "my Lord's Island," for the shelter and defence of his men, and named it Laware's Fort. He planned to rest there during the winter and "proceed upon the discovery of mineralls the next Springe." The king of Paspasheigh with a small troop of Indians attempting to surprise Jamestown block house, was overcome and killed by Captain Powell, Mr. John Waller and Lieutenant Puttocke, commander of the block house.

Lord Delaware had a winter of illness and want at the Falls and "divers encounters with the Indians, some of his men being slayne, among them his kinsman, Captain William West." Finally, his Lordship growing worse was forced to abandon his proposed search for mines and return to Jamestown. His health did not improve, Jamestown's sickly season would soon be due again. Early in the spring he appointed Percy to act as deputy governor till the return of Sir Thomas Gates or the coming of Sir Thomas Dale, and sailed for the West Indian Island of Nevis, taking with him some of the ailing colonists to try the warm baths there. His ship was borne by the wind and ocean current to the Azores, where he rested a week and then sailed for England, arriving there "towards the end of May," 1611.

As soon as Lord Delaware reached England he sent a let-

ter to the Earl of Salisbury, declaring that he had recovered his health, though "something weake," that his "long and paynefull sickness" had "no whit discouraged him in the business he had undertaken," and that there was "never more hope than at this present of an honourable and profitable end of all, if now it be not let fall."

Soon after the Lord Governor left Jamestown, Indian calls were heard in the neighbourhood of the block house. Contrary to Percy's orders, Lieutenant Puttocke, with the few men he had, went out and followed the few Indians in sight, "without apprehension, until they were led into an ambuscade of five or six hundred" of the red men who "lett flye their arrows as thicke as hayle amongste our handfull of men and killed them all in a moment." The arrows which they had shot "almost covered the ground there aboutts." The victorious shouts of the Indians made "bothe the ayere and woods to Ringe." Percy heard them in the fort and with all speed sent Lieutenant Abbott with fifty men to assist Puttocke, not knowing what had happened, though fearing the worst. When Abbott and his men encountered the Indians their shouts changed into a chorus of "Paspaeigh! Paspaeigh!" to show that they were revenging their king. Abbott put them to flight, recovered the dead bodies of the colonists and brought them into the fort where they were buried.

During the winter spent at the Falls by Delaware, Captain Argall made, in the *Discovery*, a successful trading voyage up the Potomac, where he is said to have found lead and antimony mines and ransomed Henry Spelman from the King of Potomac, with whom he had lived for more than a year. One of the interpreter's duties seems to have been "stilling the king's young child," for he says "none could quiet him so well as myselfe." He adds: "Captain Argall gave the Kinge some copper for me which he receyved. Thus was I sett at liberty and brought into England."

Lord Delaware left about one hundred and fifty colonists in Virginia. He had taken over, in his three ships, about a hundred and fifty settlers, a large percentage of whom were skilled workmen with "knights and gentlemen of quality."

Seven hundred and seventy-five persons had been sent before him, in the two earliest years of the colony's life. A few of these had returned to England. Those who had died had given their lives for the country of their adoption—a necessary sacrifice for the beginning of an English America. They were America's first "unknown soldier." Their dust and that of hundreds of others who died in the years immediately following, absorbed by the soil of Jamestown and Virginia, is the cornerstone of the United States.

All earlier attempts to plant England's flag in America had failed. But for the successful laying of this cornerstone it is not in the least likely that the Pilgrim Fathers would have been encouraged to come over ten years later. Disease, famine, and the Indians killed them three hundred years ago, but they live today in the life and ideals of a nation they, unknowingly, died to serve.

CHAPTER X

SIR THOMAS DALE

SOON after Lord Delaware's departure from Jamestown the "good ship *Hercules*," Captain Adams, arrived there with supplies and thirty colonists. Early in December 1610 the Company in London had circulated a broadside to secure emigrants for this voyage, stating that "none but honest artificers, as Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers, Fishermen, Brickmen, and such like need apply." Applicants were instructed to "repaire to the house of Sir Thomas Smith, in Philpot Lane with sufficient testimonie of their skill and good behaviour." One of the new comers, a "sturgeon-curer," was especially timely, for coming in April, when sturgeon fishing began, he could at once practise his skill in preserving for future use a supply of this fish which was one of the chief agencies in saving the colony from starvation. Captain Adams brought news that Sir Thomas Dale was to come soon with a greater supply than that brought by the *Hercules*.

In February 1611, the Company's Council had issued a circular declaring, "The eyes of all Europe are looking upon our endeavours to spread the Gospell among the Heathen people of Virginia, and plant our English nation there," announcing that Sir Thomas Dale had embarked with three hundred persons and provisions for them and the colony to the value of many thousands of pounds, and that Sir Thomas Gates would be sent "to second this expedition in May next with three hundred more of the choicest persons we can get for moneys."

A letter from Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Tower, to Queen Anne, shows the desperate state of mind to which the knight's long imprisonment had brought him and also his continued interest in Virginia. It is believed to have been written when preparations for Dale's expedition were the talk of London and reports of them reached Raleigh in his confinement. It shows that Raleigh had reason to believe that appeal made

to the Queen to permit him to go to Virginia would be more likely to be effectual than directly to the King. He begins:

"I long since presumed to offer your Majestie my service in Virginia, with a short repitition of the comoditie honour and safetie which the King's Majestie might reape by that plantation. I doe still humbly beseech your Majestie that I may rather die in serving the Kinge and my countrey then to perrish here . . . in idlenesse . . . I did also presume heretofore to set downe my answeres to all objectyones that could be made . . . and yf this suffice not, that it may be tould the Masteres and marrineres that transporte me that yf I offer to saile elsewhere they may caste me into the Sea." He begs that she will speak for him to the Earl of Salisbury and promising that she will never repent this act of goodness to him signs himself

"Your most humble vassall."

Raleigh was never permitted to go to Virginia.

Ralph Hamor who succeeded Strachey as Secretary of the colony says Dale found the men at Jamestown "at their daily and usual workes, playing at bowles in the streete." Captain Smith embodied much of Hamor's account (including this statement) in his "Generall Historie." Campbell quoted it and nearly every writer since has quoted it to the lasting injustice of the residents of Jamestown. Dale in his detailed letter to the Earl of Salisbury, six days after his arrival at Jamestown, says it was Sunday afternoon and he repaired at once to the church where the people assembled. He makes no mention of bowling. If the men were so engaged, they were not neglecting work, but indulging in innocent and healthful recreation and exercise, which they could not get elsewhere but in the streets of the fortified town, on account of danger from the Indians. Let us hope that they were having a game of bowls, popular with Englishmen of the time, for the suggestion of them so employed makes one of the few cheerful spots in the grim picture of hardship in the colony during its settlement years. Yet this innocent picture of men at play in the grassy streets of Jamestown on

a May Sunday afternoon between morning and evening services—this little glimpse of merrie England transported to suffering Virginia—has done more than any other one thing to fix in the mind of the world an impression of laziness and shiftlessness in a people from whom would spring after a while, the most vigorous group of state builders physically, mentally, and morally ever produced in the same length of time and breadth of space in the world's history.

They were Elizabethans.

Packed in Dale's three little ships had been three hundred men, besides great store of provisions (including armour and munitions) and the uncleanness of the ships, resulting from the crowding of men and animals caused "some infection amongst us" and the loss of more than a dozen lives. Dale was a too stern disciplinarian, but a man of energy and initiative. He threw himself into his work with zeal and his hopes and plans of what he might make of Virginia "with two thousand men" show him to have been a man of vision. His first work was to "repossesse" himself of the "Prince's forts" as Forts Charles and Henry were called. The second day after his arrival at Point Comfort he inspected these forts, landed his men and adding to them some of each of the companies that were quartered at Fort Algernon, he set the carpenters to work building cabins and cottages and the rest cultivating the ground and planting corn, so that in four or five days there was more corn set about Fort Henry than Sir Thomas Gates found set by the Indians the year before. He appointed Captain Davis "Taske Master" of all three forts with instructions that the officers of the forts and men under them should give account to Captain Davis and Captain Davis to him. Then "seeing everyone busy at his taske and day's labour he sailed for Jamestown where he arrived on May 19, being Sunday," (as has been said) and went at once to the church where the people assembled to meet him. Two ministers had come with his fleet—Rev. Alexander Whitaker and Mr. Poole. Mr. Poole preached a sermon and "after that Mr. Strachey did openly read the commission left for Sir Thomas Dale by Lord Delaware, Captain Percy surrendering

up his." The new Governor found at Jamestown no corn set but "some few seeds put into a private garden or two." The live stock and poultry were well cared for and in good condition. He called a meeting of the Council appointed by Delaware and arranged with them for "many essential improvements requiring much labour and many hands." These included repairing the church and storehouse, building a munition house, a stable for the colony's horses, a new well for amending the most unwholesome water which the old afforded, making brick, building a "sturgeon house," need of which was urged by the "late curer" sent from England, building a block house on the north side of the "back river," to prevent the Indians from killing the cattle, perfecting a smith's forge, making casks in which to pack the sturgeon, making private gardens for each man and "common gardens" for hemp, flax, and "such other seeds," and a wharf on which to land goods brought in the ships, "dry and safe." Captain Edward Brewster and his gang were given charge of the church, Captain Lawson and his gang of the stable, while "Captain Newport undertook the wharf with his mariners." Governor Dale found some Indians at Jamestown whom he also put to work. Himself, he busied preparing his report to the Company at home, to be dispatched with all speed by Captain Adams of the *Hercules*, whom he had detained for the purpose and who was present in Council May 21, when all "positively determined with God's grace (after the corne's setting at the Prince's Forts) to go up into the Fallsward to search and advise upon a seate for a new Towne, with 200 men where we will set down and build houses as fast as we may." In his letter of August 17, to the Earl of Salisbury, Dale wrote: "I have surveyed a convenient, strong, healthie and sweet seate to plant the new Towne in." The Privy Council had ordered that the new town be given the name of Henrico for Henry, Prince of Wales, the beloved young patron of Dale and of Virginia.

According to Percy's "Trewe Relacyon," "all things being well settled" Sir Thomas Dale made an expedition against the Nansemonds with a hundred men in armour. There had

been a little armour at Jamestown from the beginning and it had been used by the colonists, but Dale had brought "great store of armour," which had been in the Tower of London and was given, by the King, to the Company, for Virginia. The Indians being so little accustomed to encounter men so protected, "mutche wondered thereatt, especyally thatt they did not see any of our men fall as they had donne in other conflictts. Whereupon they did fall into their exorcisms, conjurations and charmes" to try to cause rain to fall and extinguish the armed men's "matches"—pieces of slow-burning wick used in firing guns. But to no avail. The colonists with the uncanny advantage given them by the armour, cut down their corn, burned their houses and, besides the Indians slain, took some of them prisoners. An arrow glanced harmlessly from the brim of Dale's headpiece, Captain West was shot in the thigh and Captain Martin in the arm. The chroniclers mention no other damage to the English.

About the middle of June, a Spanish caravel appeared off Fort Algernon with orders from the Spanish King to find out all they could about the English colony. Three of her passengers, Don Diego de Molina, Ensign Marco Antonio Perez, and Francis Lymbrye, "an English pilot who went under the name and habit of a Spaniard" (having lived many years in Spain) rowed ashore and asked Captain Davis for a pilot to bring their ship into harbour. The three were made prisoners and John Clark (the same who, later, piloted the *Mayflower* to Plymouth) was sent to the caravel to bring her into port. The caravel, in turn, kept Clark a prisoner and sailed away with him to Havana, while the three Spanish captives were taken to Jamestown and placed aboard different ships there. Percy, Newport, and Strachey, sent by Dale to examine them accused them of being spies. Meanwhile Clark was being examined by the Spaniards who had taken *him*, and was induced (by what torture the witness sayeth not) to give them a description of the Virginia colony, which has been printed. Molina was sent to England by order of King James who returned him to Spain where, according to Percy, he was put in command of "six tall ships" sent out

to destroy Virginia, but on the way he was stabbed to death by one of his men. Perez died in Virginia and later Dale took Lymbrye to England with him, but when in sight of the British coast had him hanged on shipboard. No other Spanish spies in Virginia created such a sensation as these.

Pilot Clark told his Spanish inquisitors of the four forts in Virginia and gave them what was probably an exaggerated description of their strength and of the number of English colonists in Virginia. Doubtless his aim was to protect the colony.

The spy episode made Dale uneasy. He sent William Strachey in the ship *Elizabeth* to England with reports to the Council and Committees and a letter to the Earl of Salisbury praying that a standing army of two thousand men be sent out by the beginning of the following April (1612) for the stronger fortification of Virginia. His letter dwells upon the attractions of the James River country, from the mouth of the river to the Falls. The Rev. Alexander Whitaker sent by the same ship an interesting letter to Rev. William Crashaw giving *his* impressions of Virginia, asking that "young, Godly and learned ministers" might be sent to the colony and expressing the opinion that "there be great witches amongst" the Indians and they are "very familiar with the divill." Percy too, embraced the opportunity to send a letter—to his older brother, the Earl of Northumberland, thanking him for "manifold courtesies which I at . . . everie shipping do abundantly taste of" and requesting that he pay two bills for him in London, explaining that his place in the colony could not be "defrayed" at small expense. "Being Governour at Jamestowne," he found it necessary "to keep a countinual and daily Table for Gentlemen of fashion aboute me."

All on a day in late August, 1611, there was great excitement at Point Comfort. Captain Davis espied, from Fort Algernon, a fleet of six ships (Percy calls them nine) and three of them were caravels. He was quick to surmise that it was the Spanish fleet to which had belonged the caravel that had brought the spies, then prisoners at Jamestown. Governor Dale agreed with him and busied himself preparing a proper

reception for such guests. Realizing that Virginia was in no condition for an invasion, he ordered all fit to bear arms aboard the *Star*, the *Prosperous*, and the *Patience*, resolved to meet the enemy "a shipboard." But in the midst of the preparations, Captain Brewster and Lieutenant Abbott, whom Dale had sent down the river with thirty or forty men in a shallop, brought the joyful news that the visitors were Englishmen—"Sir Thomas Gates his fleet, with two hundred and four score men and twenty women, and two hundred Kine and as many swine with other necessaries." Lady Gates and her daughters had been of the party, but had died in the West Indies. The fleet arrived at Jamestown that evening. The two knights greeted each other. Gates' commission as Lieutenant Governor (left for him by Lord Delaware) was read and handed to him, Sir Thomas Dale surrendering his commission as Lieutenant Governor and receiving appointment as Marshal of Virginia, with orders to go with two or three hundred men to the Falls and build the new town of Henrico. Early in September, with a small party, he "set out from Jamestown with the tide" and reached his destination in a day and a half. Captain Brewster with most of the men, marched over land and were "dyvers tymes" attacked by Indians sent by Powhatan under a brave, nicknamed "Jack of the Feathers," because he went about covered with feathers and with swan's wings fastened on his shoulders.

Most of the emigrants in Gates' fleet were men trained in mechanical arts. Governor Dale had "pales, posts, and rails" prepared before they came and within ten days "had very strongly impaled" the seven acres of land chosen for the new town. Percy says that the Indians "hindered" the work by shooting arrows into the fort while it was being built, wounding "divers" of the workmen. Notwithstanding this some slackers ran away to the Indians. Some of them were caught and brought back and Marshal Dale had them executed "in a most severe manner," as an example to the rest. In four months time, according to Hamor (who was now Secretary) Dale had made Henrico better than all the work done in the colony from its beginning. The town stood upon an unique

site almost surrounded by the river which makes a remarkable loop at that point. Dale dug a deep ditch with palisades on the inner side where Dutch Gap Canal now is. In Hamor's words: "There are in this town three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church and the foundation of a more stately one laid of Brick, in length an hundred foot, and fiftie foot wide, besides store-houses, watch houses and such like; there are also . . . upon the verge of the river five faire Block-houses, wherein dwell the honester sort of people, as farmers in England, and there keepe continual sentinell for the Townes securitie."

About two miles from the town a pale two miles long extended from river to river. This was guarded likewise "with several blockhouses, enclosing great quantite of corne ground." On the other side of the river an area of two miles was impaled within which were the tracts named "Hope in Faith" and "Coxen-Dale." They were secured by five forts, among them "Mount Malady, a guest house for sicke people"—the first hospital in the United States. "And here Master Whitaker chose the church land, which was impaled and a faire framed Parsonage house built thereupon, called Rocke Hall." This tract provided a range for the colony's hogs. About Christmas, in revenge for treacherous murders by the Appomatus tribe, Dale took their town and their corn with loss of a few Indians and no English, and decided to make a town there to be called Bermuda. He annexed to the corporation "forever" many miles of open and wooded land, divided into several "hundreds," which he named "Upper and Nether Hundred," "West Shirley Hundred," "Digges' Hundred." Upper and Nether Hundred are now Curles and Bermuda. Rochdale Hundred is now Jones' Neck, West Shirley Hundred is now Shirley. Nether Hundred (which included the projected Bermuda town) was the first to be laid out and impaled where, "within halfe a mile of each other," says Secretary Hamor, "are many faire houses already built; besides particular men's houses, neere to the number of fiftie." Rochdale also had some houses "along the pale" within which was a twenty mile range where cattle might graze securely. The

building of the city of Bermuda—the first Virginia town to be incorporated—was postponed till after the harvest of 1612. A few years after its foundation, John Rolfe was its “Recorder.”

About fifty miles down the river was Jamestown which Dale had “newly strongly impaled” and forty miles beyond, Kecoughtan, where people could live well with half the allowance from the storehouse the rest had, because of the “extraordinarie quantitie of Fish, Fowle and Deere.” The above is what Hamor calls at the end of the year 1612, the “present estate of that small part of Virginia wee frequent and possesse.” It was a small beginning but, at last it was a real beginning. It represented five years of thought and labour and suffering, made bearable by the joy of adventure on land and sea, by belief that service to God and country was being rendered, by a sense of participation in the creation of a new kingdom for England. It represented five years of tremendous expenditure by the Company in London and its subscribers, the sacrifice of unnumbered lives of red men and white men whose ashes commingled in its soil. The Second Charter, in giving Virginia a governor had given the colony what it needed most—harmony. Lord Delaware had been able to effect this and now his deputy governor, Sir Thomas Gates, and Marshal Sir Thomas Dale, two men of ability and initiative who had long been friends, two good Elizabethans, who had been comrades in wars for England, who could work together in Virginia and with (under them) fearless experienced officers, seasoned to Jamestown’s climate, like Davis and Brewster and others, the colony had a fighting chance for life. Its first five, hard, tragic, thrilling years were weathered. There were a few homes on James River and Hampton Roads with women and children in them. Alice Laydon, second daughter of John Laydon and his wife, Ann Burrass, and Mara Bucke, daughter of Rev. Richard Bucke, were probably born during this fifth year. With Henrico and its “three Streets of well framed houses,” Bermuda and its “many faire houses,” Jamestown with some of its houses “two stories and a garret high,” and Kecoughtan with the good cheer

provided by its fine fish, oysters, wild fowl, and venison, what had been chaos begins to assume a slight semblance of order. Here and there pictures touched with domestic comfort stand out against the dark background of Indian fighting, disease and death that have heretofore been the chief features of the Virginian scene.

In the meantime the Company in London was busy with plans for further development of the colony. Its third charter, framed in 1610, was not signed and sealed by the King until March 22, 1612. In order to include the Bermudas in the colony, Virginia was granted possession of all islands within three hundred leagues and for a short time Bermuda was under control of the Virginia Company, but later a separate corporation was formed, with membership taken largely from the Company. The new charter authorized lotteries for the benefit of the colony and the "schemes" for conducting them were advertised all over England.

By the third charter the King practically turned over the government of Virginia and responsibility for it to the Company. Under the First Charter control of affairs of Virginia and the Company were vested in the Council appointed by the King, under the Charter of 1609, in a council elected by the Company, but apparently authorized to act independently of it. Now the Charter of 1612 provided that a small number of members of the Council elected by the Company, with other members of the Company, meet once a week or oftener to transact minor business. But matters of moment were to be settled by a great and general Court composed of Council and Company, to meet quarterly. The Quarter Courts were authorized to appoint all officers and make all laws and regulations relating to Virginia, provided they were not contrary to the laws of England. When this ample clause was written into the charter of the great company of nobles, knights, gentlemen, members of the learned professions, military and naval officers, merchants and business men with the distinguished man of business, Sir Thomas Smith, at its head for ten successive years, and later Sir Edwin Sandys, followed by the Earl of Southampton, the scene was set—though no

one then realized it—for the laying of the cornerstone of American liberty—the establishment of free government at Jamestown, seven years later.

The Virginia Company of London was now granted a seal. The shield bore the arms of England and France quartered with Scotland and Ireland. The crest was a woman crowned (Queen Elizabeth); the supporters two men in armour and the motto: “En Dat Virginia Quintam”—Virginia gives a fifth crown. The seal of the colony bore on one side the same arms as those on the seal of the Company, and on the reverse the figure of James I.

Sixteen years before, Spenser’s prophetic pen had dedicated the 1596 edition of his “Fairie Queene” to “Elizabeth. . . . By the Grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, and of Virginia.”

CHAPTER XI

POCAHONTAS

GOSSIPY English records tell of a lottery for the benefit of Virginia, June 29—July 20, 1612, "in a new built house at the West end of Paul's." Prizes amounted to £5000. A chance was taken by the "Church of St. Mary Colechurch" an old London house of worship which was destroyed in the great fire, 1666. The first prize was won by "Thomas Sharp-lisse, a Taylor of London . . . foure thousand crownes in fayre plate, which was sent to his house in a very stately manner." During the whole time of drawing of this lottery "there was alwaies present divers worshipfull knights and esquires accompanied with sundry grave discreet Citizens."

During the drawing (on June 23, 1613) Captain Samuel Argall sailed from England for Virginia. He found the colonists in "farre better estate" than report had said and gave Gates and Dale the credit. He busied himself helping to repair ships and boats "decayed for lacke of Pitch and Tarre," in "pursuing the Indians with Sir Thomas Dale for their corne, of which we got some quantitie," and in fishing. His ship's company continued in health, "for which God be glorified, to whom we give daily thanks for the continuance of his mercy." From Smith's explorations to this time, and for some years later, the English traded for corn with the Potomac River Indians. Argall sailed from Point Comfort to Potomactown (in the present King George County) on December 1, to carry on this trade. He "concluded a peace with divers Indian lords . . . and exchanged hostages with them," got eleven hundred bushels of corn, which he took to Jamestown and delivered into storehouses, according to the direction of Governor Gates—reserving three hundred bushels for his ship's company, and made discovery trips up and down the rivers and into the country.

And now Pocahontas who has not been seen or heard of by the colonists since Smith's departure in October 1609,

comes again on the scene. It is in the greening April of 1613. Argall says: "I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the great Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas was with the Great King of Potomac (her uncle) whither I presently repaired, resolving to possesse myselfe of her by any strategem that I could, for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan." By the promise of a copper kettle, Argall induced the king, Japasaws, and his wife to bring Pocahontas aboard the *Treasurer*. He feasted all three in the cabin, "Japasaws treading oft on the Captaine's foot" to remind him that he had done his part. Argall told Pocahontas that "she must go with him and compound peace between her countrie and his before she ever should see Powhatan" again. At this, Japasaws and his wife, "pretending ignorance of Argall's scheme, began to howle and crie as fast as Pocahontas," who, "upon the Captaine's faire persuasions, was by degrees" pacified and Japasaws and his wife, "with the kettle and other toies, went merrily on shore," while Pocahontas sailed away with Argall to Jamestown. On April 13, an Indian was sent to inform Powhatan of the capture of the daughter "he loved so dearly" and that he must ransom her with his English prisoners and the arms and tools" he treacherously had stolen. "This unwelcome news so troubled Powhatan because he loved both his daughter and the weapons and tools," that he sent no answer for three months, when he returned seven of the captured men, each with a few weapons, and a canoe of corn, with the promise that if the English would send his daughter home he would make satisfaction for all the injuries done them, give them five hundred bushels of corn and forever be their friends. The English replied that his daughter was well and would be well treated but would not be given up till the rest of their arms were returned.

On May 12 Argall made his ship ready for his intended "fishing voyage" (the real object of which was kept secret) "of which I beseech God of his mercy to bless us." The colonists had been making yearly fishing trips to the coast of "Northern Virginia" (present New England) but this voyage

was something different. Captain Argall was commissioned to sail in his ship *Treasurer*, equipped as a man of war, with sixty musketeers (trained for both land and sea service) and fourteen cannon, and "dislodge" a French settlement within Virginia territory. They arrived there flying the flag of England with the red Cross of St. George, and with trumpets and drums announcing their warlike purpose. Captain Argall, on real fishing trips, had learned something of the movements of the French squatters. He sailed directly to their settlement at Mt. Desert, on the coast of the present Maine (or "New France," as they called it) and immediately attacked a ship lying in port "with loud discharges of muskets and guns," and the French ship answered. A Jesuit priest, Brother Gilbert du Thet, and two other Frenchmen were killed, four wounded and the ship and settlement captured. Fifteen of the Frenchmen were put in a shallop and reached their own country in September 1613. Argall took to Jamestown the ship and a "barque" and fifteen Frenchmen, including Captain Flores (the ship's commander) Sieur de la Lotte (a French officer) two Jesuit fathers, Pierre Biard, who wrote an account of the incident, and Jacques Quentin. Late in October Gates, Dale, and the Virginia Council sent Argall again to New France to make destruction of French encroachments on Virginia's grant more complete. Argall first returned to Mt. Desert, where he wiped out every trace of French occupancy—removing the French Cross and setting up one with the name of King James carved on it. Then on to St. Croix and Port Royal, on the coast of Canada, he sailed and "destroyed every token of French names and claims, as he had been commanded to do."

It is possible that Argall's "fishing" voyages prevented the French from obtaining control of the New England coast before the Plymouth settlement could be made. He certainly struck the first blow in the long struggle between England and France for possession of North America. It is said (though without strong proof) that on Argall's return voyage to Virginia he compelled surrender of the little Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island. He returned to

Jamestown about December 1, 1613. Early in the new year the leave of absence of Sir Thomas Gates as a Captain of English troops in the Dutch service expired and about March 1, he surrendered his office as Lord Delaware's deputy in Virginia and sailed for England, taking with him Sieur de la Motte and official news of Argall's expedition against the French interlopers. Sir Thomas Dale now became Deputy Governor.

During all these months Pocahontas had lived at Jamestown—a captive, but a toast with the English she had so often befriended. They taught her English ways and took her to church in the fort and she became the first Virginia Indian convert to Christianity. Sir Thomas Dale in a letter (June 18, 1614) wrote: "Powhatan's daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in the Christian Religion, who after she had made some good progresse therein, renounced publicly her Country Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, was, as she desired, baptysed." At the font, she acquired a new name. Her real name among the Indians, was Matoaka. Pocahontas was a pet name, given her by Powhatan. Parson Bucke baptized her Rebecca. At Jamestown too, romance came to her. Master John Rolfe and his first wife were among the castaways at Bermuda where Madam Rolfe had died. The young widower and the young Indian Princess fell in love with each other during her captivity. One of Dale's first acts upon becoming governor of Virginia again, was (in March 1614) "with an hundred and fifty men well appointed," to sail in Argall's ship and some other vessels belonging to the Colony, up York River "to Werowocomico, Powhatan's chieftest habitation." He took Pocahontas with him, hoping to move the Indians to either fight for her or exchange the English tools, weapons, and prisoners for her. The Indians on shore made "a great bravado" as the ships passed up the river, asking the colonists why they came thither. The English shouted back that it was "to deliver Pocahontas" and receive their arms and men and the Indians' corn, "or else to fight with them, [and] burn their houses." Some of them replied that if they came to fight they were welcome and promised them the same

kind of treatment Captain Ratcliff and his murdered men had received. The English retaliated with assurance that they would "now revenge that treachery . . . unless they made better and more speedy agreement."

With this cheerful exchange of threats between red men ashore and white men on shipboard, the vessels progressed. As soon as the ships entered the "narrows of the river" (the present Pamunkey) where they were within shot of the shore, some of the Indians let fly their arrows from an ambush and wounded a colonist. Whereupon the English manned their boats, landed, burned and pillaged "some forty houses" (wigwams) and killed or wounded "five or sixe." Next day they proceeded higher up the river, the Indians calling to them to know why they "went ashore, killed and hurt their men, and tooke away their goods." The English replied that they came in peace and would have been glad to receive their demands in peace, though they had power to take revenge and punish wrongs, which having done they were ready to make peace if the Indians chose. With many excuses "affirming that they would be right glad of our love," they promised to send to Powhatan for the weapons and tools, but said that twenty-four hours would be required for their messengers to go and return. At the end of this time, receiving no satisfaction, Dale's men moved up the Pamunkey River (which flows into the York) and anchored near Powhatan's "chiefest residence." There stood the Indian town of Matchcot, on a high bluff in the present New Kent County, where they saw about four hundred men armed with bows and arrows. They went ashore and climbed the bluff but the Indians, instead of attacking them asked for more time to send messengers to Powhatan for orders. A truce was declared till noon next day, with promise that the English would not molest, hurt, nor detain any of them in the meantime and then not attack without warning of drum and trumpets.

Upon this promise, two of Powhatan's sons "being very desirous of seeing their sister, who was there present ashore with us . . . at sight of whom and her well fare . . . they much rejoiced, came to us and promised that they would per-

to obtaine a murther to my greates remorse nor give
 ignorantly ye shd. obey my sacred laws, or stand by to see
 the love of my friends by fasting and trouble of fasting. I am well
 take not to be so, obey fasting any. But I call it please God find to
 suppose of me we say I cannot by desire to fulfill my end as for the
 service of will I certainly accept it as a godly long appointed with and
 I will never tell God a fasting me but it I have accomplished
 and brought to perfection for say a necessity in wch I will say the
 praye God to direct me to myne and for eternal payment And
 I find. so fasting was longer to say to say to say the blessing of God,
 you find my blessed God found to say godly ends as order by
 me before but not, not doubting of your gratitud attestation, I
 take my leave so saying I mightly God to requit devout upon
 you my friend of his graciously granted as your love can say so
 and so fire. And so I rest

At yo demand most willing
 to be so so so so.

Jo: Rolfe

suade their father to ransom her and to conclude a firm peace with us forever." The two brothers went on board Captain Argall's ship and Governor Dale sent Master Rolfe and Master Sparks to Powhatan to see what he was going to do about the ransom. They were not admitted to the chief's presence but his brother Opechancanough "his successor . . . who hath already the command of all the people," promised to endeavor to "further their just requests."

Pocahontas bore herself haughtily in the presence of the assembled warriors and while ashore "would not talk to any of them, save to them of the best sort, and to them only, she said that if her father had loved her he would not value her less than old swords and axes, wherefore she would still dwell with the Englishmen who loved her."

As April was coming on—the season for planting corn for next winter's provision—the colonists consented to go home and give the natives respite till harvest, but assured them that if final agreement were not made between them and themselves before that time, they would return and take away all their corn, burn all the houses upon that river, leave not a fishing weir standing nor a canoe in any creek thereabout and kill as many of their men as possible.

It was this critical time that John Rolfe chose to make known to Governor Dale how matters stood between himself and the captive princess. He made Master Ralph Hamor the bearer of a letter handed to the Governor and "Pocahontas herself acquainted her brothers therewith." The unique romance proved to be the happiest possible solution of difficulties. The Governor approved of it. Powhatan gave "sudden consent" and about ten days later sent the maiden's old uncle, Opachisco, to Jamestown as his deputy to give her away in the church, and her two brothers to witness the marriage, which was solemnized about April 5, 1614. "And ever since," says Hamor, "we have had friendly commerce and trade not only with Powhatan himself, but also with his subjects round about us, so as now I see no reason why the Collonie should not thrive again."

The Jamestown colonists' nearest red skin neighbours—

the Chickahominies—"a lustie and daring people who have long time lived free from Powhatan's subjection," upon hearing of the marriage sent a present of two fat bucks to Governor Dale "and offered themselves and service unto him, alledging that albeit in former times they had been our enemies and we theirs, yet they would now, if we pleased, become not only our trustie friends but even King James his subjects and tributaries, and relinquish their old name Chickahominies, and take upon them, as they call us, the name of Tassantessas, and because they have no principal Commander, or Werowance, they would entreat Sir Thomas Dale, as King James his deputie, to be their supreme head, King and governor." This shows what an important personage with the Indians was Powhatan's "delight and darling, his daughter Pocahontas."

The peace between Indians and English lasted (with the exception of some slight interruptions) for eight years, during which freedom from anxiety and from warfare gave time and opportunity for building up the colony. If Pocahontas and John Smith had never seen each other, her courageous services to the colony, her acceptance of the religion and manners of the English, her becoming the wife of an English gentleman and official of the colony and compounding peace between her people and his, would have raised her to a position of high distinction and made her one of the historic figures of America. She was called the "Nonparella of Virginia." She must have been superior in graces of mind and personality for of all the native women she is the only one who stands out like a star in the story of the settlement. We have not only the testimony of John Smith whose life she saved, but of John Rolfe whose heart she won six years later, and of many others.

About a month after the marriage of Rolfe and Pocahontas Governor Dale sent Secretary Hamor back to Powhatan's residence, Matchcot, with Thomas Savage as interpreter, to try to secure from the red king another daughter for a still surer pledge of friendship. Powhatan first smoked a pipe of peace with the visitor and his escort and then enquired "how his brother, Sir Thomas Dale fared, after his daughter's welfare, her marriage, his unknowne sonne, and how they liked,



THE MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS

From a steel engraving after the painting by Brueckner

By Courtesy of Mrs. J. A. Johnston, Richmond

lived and loved together." Hamor replied that Pocahontas was "so well content that she would not change her life to returne and live with him, whereat he laughed heartily and said he was very glad of it." But he refused to give the English another of his daughters.

On a day which had been appointed, Sir Thomas Dale and Captain Argall, with fifty men, sailed in a barge and a frigate up the Chickahominy River to conclude the peace desired by the Indians of that section. These people assembled after their best and friendliest manner to welcome them. Dale remained on his barge and sent Argall to represent him at the Indians' Council. The agreement by which the Chickahominies should become English subjects contained eight conditions one of which was that they should at all times be ready to furnish three or four bowmen to aid against the Spaniards (whom the Indians too, hated, because they said Powhatan's father was driven by them from the West Indies to Virginia), or against other Indians who should, contrary to the established peace, offer the colonists injury. The eighth article provided that the eight Chickahominy Chiefs who should govern that tribe as councillors, under Governor Dale, should see that the conditions of peace were performed, for which they should each receive a red coat yearly, from King James, and a picture of his Majesty engraven on copper with a chain of copper to hang it about his neck, whereby they should be known as "King James his noble men." The whole assembly assented to the "articles" with "a great shout and noise" and the chief of the eight chiefs made an oration to the assembled throng, addressing himself in turn to the old men, the young men, the women and children, explaining the condition, "in consideration whereof the English were to defend them from the fury and danger of Powhatan and all other enemies domesticke or foreigne," and "yearely by trade furnish them with Copper, Beades, Hatchets, and many other necessaries." To wind up the love feast, Captain Argall, by the gift of eight great pieces of copper and eight great tomahawks bound the eight great councillors to the performance of their promises, who gave him in return "venison, turkeys, fresh fish, baskets,

mats and such like things and after that every man brought to sell to our men skinnes, bowls, mats, baskets, tobacco, etc., and became as familiar amongst us as if they had been English men indeede." Hamor adds the hope that the friendship between Indians and English might last "till they should have the understanding to acknowledge how much they are bound to God for sending us amongst them."

In a letter dated, "From Jamestowne in Virginia the 18 of June, 1614," and sent to England by Captain Argall, Governor Dale described his visit to Powhatan with Pocahontas, "who is since married to an English gentleman of good understanding. . . . Her Father and Friends gave approbation of it and her Uncle gave her to him in the Church: she lives civilly and lovingly with him and I trust will increase in goodness as the knowledge of God increases in her. She will go to England with me and were it but for the gayning of this one soule, I will thinke my time and toile and present stay well spent." Dale added: "Opechancano desired I would call him friend and that he might call me so, saying he was a great Captaine and did alwaies fight: that I was also a great Captaine and therefore he loved me; and that my friends should be his friends. So the bargain was made, and every eight or ten daies I had messages and presents from him, with many appearances that he much desires to continue friendshippe." Finally, Dale sums up the change in the colony wrought by the peace: "First, part of our armes . . . redelivered. . . . Our cattle to increase without danger of destroying, our men at liberty to hunt freely for venison, to fish, to doe anything else, go any whither without danger; to follow the husbanding of their corne securely, whereof we have above five hundred acres set . . . roots and herbs we have in great abundance." All fear of want "is by God's blessing quite vanished. . . . We may by this peace come to discover the country better, both by our own travells and by the relation of the Savages, as we grow in familiarity with them." Dale describes the league with the Chickahominies as one of the blessings following the marriage of Pocahontas and gives the hopeful state of the colony and promise of the

future as his reasons for intense interest in his work and determination to remain in Virginia for a time longer, though his term of service is over.

Rolfe (who succeeded Hamor as secretary and recorder) writing his "Relation of Virginia," in 1616, mentions the friendship with the Indians with a gratification which implies that he was entirely happy in his marriage: "The great blessings of God have followed this peace, and it, next under him, hath bredd our plentie—every man sitting under his fig tree in safety, gathering and reaping the fruits of their labours with much joy and comfort."

Perhaps Smith's greatest contribution to the colony was the rule that he that doth not work shall not eat. Dale's greatest contribution was making every man a farmer. When the colonists were fed out of the common store and laboured jointly in manuring the ground and planting corn "the most honest of them would not take so much pains in a week, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered the general store must maintain them," as they did in a way under Governor Dale's plan. Dale allotted to every man in the colony, with exception of the founders of "Bermuda Citty," three acres of cleared land which he was to cultivate for himself and only be called upon for service to the colony for one month in the year "which neither shall be in seede time or in Harvest," but was to pay a yearly tax of two and one-half bushels of corn to be reserved for new emigrants the first year after their arrival.

"Bermuda Citty, a businesse of greatest hope ever begunne in our Territories" had a patent of its own of special privileges. The newcomer was promised a house of four rooms ("or more, if he have a family") rent free, and was permitted to plant a garden for himself in the strongly impaled public ground and given twelve months' provision for himself and family, "But it must bee his care to provide for himselfe and family ever after. To this end he was promised tools, poultry, and swine and, if he deserve it, a Goate or two and perhaps a cow." Hamor gives a long list of kinds of game and fish,

vegetables, fruits, and savoury herbs which the emigrant might add to his diet.

The colony was thriving but was not yet producing anything of importance to enrich the mother country or repay the Virginia Company of London for its vast expenditure in sending out ships, emigrants and supplies. Dreams of mines or precious metals and jewels like those of South America, which had enriched Spain, failed to come true. Hamor says that trials of silk manufacture from silk grass were made and silk worms had been brought over in the ship *Elizabeth* (which left England in October 1613) and seemed to be thriving on Virginia's native mulberry trees, but so far the most valuable commodities sent home were wainscot, ship's masts and other timbers, and sassafras.

It remained for the husband of Pocahontas to have a pipe dream that was to give Virginia a money-making crop that put the colony on its feet financially and made fortunes which created large estates and luxurious living in the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth. Some years passed after the colonists learned from the Indians to enjoy tobacco before they conceived of its commercial value. There was violent opposition to it in some quarters. It was believed to be a useful medicine but dangerous narcotic and James I himself wrote a "Counterblast" against it. John Rolfe was the first Englishman who learned how to cultivate and cure it successfully, at the plantation "Varina," to which he had taken his Indian bride. Soon every man's chief pride was his tobacco crop. It became necessary to make a law against planting tobacco to the neglect of corn. The weed became the money standard of the colony. Property of all kinds was valued according to its worth in pounds of tobacco. In England dreams of gold mines and discovery of a short passage to the South Sea were forgotten and the Virginians were ordered to plant tobacco. When more and more "commodities" and larger and larger amounts of money came over seas in exchange for tobacco shipments, it was not so much tobacco itself but what tobacco would buy that turned Virginia into a great tobacco plantation. While Virginia was still very

young tobacco was turned into good English oak and mahogany, fair linen napery and sheets, warm woolen and rich silk raiment, "great store" of pewter and silver, and a surprising number of jewels. This is proved beyond doubt by wills and inventories of owners of these valuable "commodities" who had little in the way of purchase money save "tobacco in cask." In place of the gold or silver certificate which passes from pocket book to pocket book today, until the crisp greenback becomes a limp, dirty rag, the Virginia colonist had his "tobacco note."

About the first of May Sir Thomas Dale made choice of Captain George Yeardley (who had assisted in founding Henrico and other settlements up the river) as deputy governor, and sailed for England in Captain Argall's ship *Treasurer*. He took with him Rolfe and Pocahontas and their infant son, Thomas, and ten or twelve Indians, to have educated there. The new governor at once applied himself diligently to cultivating tobacco as the most hopeful crop for "a present gaine" and "every man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for that purpose." Food supplies ran low and Yeardley sent to the Chickahominies for the tribute of corn they had promised Dale. They refused with "scorne and contempt" and despite the peace, Yeardley went up their river. In the fight that followed twelve Indians were slain and twelve captured, among them two of "their eight elders." Captain Henry Spelman acted as interpreter and the prisoners were ransomed for a hundred bushels of corn.

We have seen Raleigh writing to Queen Anne of his desire to go with Dale to Virginia. This suggests that the Queen of James I may have shown interest in the colony. Now, on Dale's return from Virginia, accompanied by Pocahontas, Captain John Smith, who happened to be in London at the time, "writ a little booke" to Her Majesty to secure her interest in the Indian princess. Doubt has been cast on the authenticity of this letter, but without reason. Smith printed it in his "General Historie" in 1624 which he would not have dared to do had it been bogus. Purchas, who was in a position to know if it was genuine, reprinted it in his "Pilgrimes,"

in the same year. In this letter Smith tells briefly of his capture by Powhatan and the "exceeding great courtesie" received from Powhatan's "sonne Nantiquaus, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the King's most deare and well-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteen years of age. . . . She hazarded the beating out of her owne brains to save mine; and not only that but so prevailed with her father that I was safely conducted to Jamestowne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures . . . had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved. And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas. . . . When inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to visit us, and by her our jarres have been appeased and our wants supplied. . . . Jamestowne with her wild traine she as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three years she next under God was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death, famine and utter confusion. . . . After a long and troublesome warre, after my departure, betwix her father and our Colonie . . . she was not heard of.

"About two yeares after shee her selfe was taken prisoner . . . the Colonie by that means was relieved, peace concluded; and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, she was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England: the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian [Indian] ever spake English or had a childe in marriage by an Englishman."

". . . Most gracious Lady . . . however this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart. As yet I never begged anything of the state, or any: and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert; your birth and vertue, her want and symplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as my selfe. Her husband's estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majestie. The most and least

I can doe is to tell you this . . . Pocahontas being so great a spirit, however her statue: if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes: her present love to us and Christianitie might turne to such scorne and furie as to divert all this good to the worst of evill: Whereas finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour . . . would so ravish her with content as to endeare her dearest blood to effect that which your Majestie and all the King's honest subjects most earnestly desire.

"And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands."

Smith was preparing to sail for New England and could not stay to do Pocahontas "that service I desired and she well deserved," but hearing she was at Branford, in the suburbs, where she had been taken because London smoke affected her lungs, he went to see her. She had believed him dead and, in her embarrassment at seeing him suddenly, she turned her back on him without a word of greeting. "In that humour" Smith, her husband and others who were with her left her for several hours—Smith repenting he had "writ she could speak English." At length she found her tongue and said to Smith: "You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his and he the like to you. You called him father, being in his land a stranger and by the same reason so must I do you."

"Which," says Smith, "though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title because she was a King's daughter."

She said: "Were you not afraid to come into my father's Countrie and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will be for ever and ever, your Countrieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead and I knew no other till I came to Plimouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you and know the truth, because your countriemen lie much."

Uttamatomakkin, or Tomocomo, was one of Powhatan's council whom he sent to England to count the people and report to him. When he arrived at Plymouth Smith said he

procured a long stick "whereon by notches hee did thinke to have kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of the taske." Powhatan also directed Tomocomo to find Captain Smith and get him to show him "the English God, King, Queen, and Prince." Smith took a number of his friends to see Pocahontas and says they "generally concluded" they had "seen many English ladies worse favoured, proportioned, and behavioured." Purchas says of her that Pocahontas in London "did not only accustome her selfe to civilitie, but still carried her selfe as the Daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected not only by the great Virginia Company, which allowed her provision for her selfe and her sonne, but of divers particular persons of Honour, in their hopeful zeale by her to advance Christianitie." Purchas was present when the "Lord Bishop of London, Dr. King, entertained her with festival state and pompe beyond what I have seen in his great hospitalitie afforded to other ladies." Lord and Lady Delaware presented her at Court "where it pleased both the King and Queene's Majestie honourably to esteeme her." She was made much of by "divers other persons of good qualities, both publicly at the maskes and otherwise to her great satisfaction." But tradition says the King was offended because Rolfe presumed to marry into the royal family of Virginia without asking his permission. When she appeared at the theatre and at the banquets and receptions at which she was entertained she excited great interest, elegantly attired and wearing a jewelled cap, rich lace collar and carrying an ostrich fan—finer feathers than any she had worn in Virginia. In such a costume her portrait, still in existence, was painted by an excellent artist. On January 16, 1617, Lord and Lady Delaware took her to see Ben Jonson's "Christmas his Mask" where the Virginia princess saw the English Queen dancing with the Earls of Buckingham and Montgomery. She is said to have been well pleased with the mask, but her opinion of the dancing has not come down.

Early in the new year, with her husband and son, the Princess Pocahontas left London, "though sore against her

will," expecting to return in Captain Argall's ship to Virginia, but became suddenly ill while waiting for "a wind to send them away" and (in the words of Purchas) "she came at Gravesend to her end and grave, having given great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie, as the first fruits of Virginia conversion, leaving here a Godly memory and the hopes of her resurrection." She was buried in the chancel of St. George's Church there and in 1914 the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames of America placed within this chancel two windows to her memory. Little Thomas Rolfe was left in England. John Rolfe in a letter to Sir Edwin Sandys explained that the sail from Gravesend to Plymouth made his motherless little son and those in charge of him sick. At Plymouth Sir Lewis Stukeley "earnestly entreated to have the keeping of the child" until his uncle, Henry Rolfe (a member of the Virginia Company) could arrange for his care. Rolfe calls the child "the living ashes of his mother" and petitions that the stipend granted Pocahontas "may not die with my wife, but continue for her child's advancement." Since his return to Virginia he finds that his wife's death is much lamented "by the Indians and her child much desired by them, when it is able to endure so hard a passage." They comfort him by telling him that "the life of the child greatly extinguisheth the sorrow of her loss, saying all must die, but 'tis enough that her child liveth." In a postscript, he asks for "some place of command in Virginia for himself and land for himself and son."

Thomas Rolfe returned to Virginia when a young man. In the year 1641 he asked the governor's permission to visit his "Aunt Cleopatre and his kinsman Opechancanough." It was probably about this time that he was given, by the Indian king, the tract of land long known as Smith's Fort. He became a man of standing in the colony, married, and has many descendants among some of the principal families of Virginia.

CHAPTER XII

ARGALL

JOHAN ROLFE returned with Captain Argall in the ship *George* as Secretary and Recorder General of the colony, arriving at Point Comfort May 15, 1617. Argall himself, through the influence of Sir Robert Rich (afterward Lord Rich and later still the Earl of Warwick) had been elected by the Virginia Company "Deputy Governor and Admiral General of Virginia and the Seas Adjoining," to succeed Yeardley, with Ralph Hamor as Vice Admiral.

At Jamestown, the new governor was received by "Governor Yeardley and his companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an Indian." Argall sent Tomocomo to inform Opechancanough of his arrival and the old chief came to Jamestown to welcome him and accepted a present "with great joy."

According to Rolfe's letter home the colony was found "in good estate and now enjoying a firmer peace . . . all men cheerfully labour about their grounds. English wheat, barley, Indian corn, and tobacco in greate plenty in the ground. Cattle thrive and increase . . . Indians very loving and willing to part with their children" that they might be educated. On June 9, Argall himself wrote to the Virginia Company describing his arrival in Virginia, finding the people "well and enjoying great plenty and peace." He likes Jamestown better than the new town of Bermuda and intends to strengthen its fortifications. Yet in the following March he wrote of the ruinous condition in which he had found the colony and improvements he had made. If this less favourable description of conditions at Jamestown was approximately correct it can be accounted for by Argall's statement that the colonists were "dispersed all about planting Tobacco." His second letter announces that good Parson Whitaker had been drowned and asks for orders for Mr. Wickham and Mr. Maycocke—a Cambridge scholar.

Among the few entries from official records kept in Virginia during Argall's administration, are some drastic orders issued soon after his arrival, including one against teaching the Indians to shoot with guns on pain of death to learner and teacher. An order that the colonists go armed to church and to work shows that the "peace" was not completely trusted. The fascination of tobacco culture was reflected in the order that every man "except tradesmen following their trades" must set two acres of corn to every one acre of tobacco—penalty, forfeiture of what corn and tobacco he grew and to be a slave to the colony for a year. There were shocking proofs that regulations against the Indians were wise. Richard Killingbeck who was with the Governor at Kecoughtan, asked leave to return to Charles Hundred to his wife. Instead of going home he went to Jamestown and got four others to join him in a trading trip to Chickahominy. An Indian there shot him dead with an English gun. Others fell upon his four companions, murdered them, stripped them and took their clothes and trading goods. Drunk with this taste of savagery, they then robbed their own Council house in the town, "stole all the Indian treasure thereout and fled into the woods." On the next Sunday a colonist named Fairfax who lived a mile from Jamestown left his wife and three small children and a youth "safe at home," as he thought, and went to church. The wife, supposing prayer to be done went to meet her husband. Soon after, several of the fugitive Indians entered her home and murdered the boy and her three children. Another youth who stole out of church at prayer time met the murderers and was slain by them.

Opechancanough disclaimed the action of the murderers and promised to punish them with death if he caught them.

Virginia had struggled with many difficulties but Argall gave it an entirely new one. The governors that preceded him were men of integrity who worked disinterestedly for the colony and England. Argall had during his earlier visits to Virginia been in a subordinate position, acting under orders of Gates or Dale, and had been an enterprising and efficient officer. While in England he had been singled out by a power-

ful, but corrupt member of the Company, Sir Robert Rich, as his protege in scheming to make private profit out of the colony. When he returned to Virginia as Governor, he seems to have become a different man. According to the minutes of the Virginia Company, he employed fifty-four of the colony's servants to work on public land known as the Company's garden and in the colony's salt works, for his own benefit, and appropriated to his own use tribute corn paid by the Indians and rent corn paid by the tenant farmers, as well as the colony's cattle.

Captain Edward Brewster made bold to interfere with this employment by the deputy governor of the Lord Governor's tenants and servants, and Argall had him tried by court martial and sentenced to death. The ministers and members of the Court protested and Governor Argall changed the sentence to banishment from the colony for life, with the condition that Brewster would never say anything in criticism of himself. Brewster did not feel bound to honour such a pledge and reported Argall's plundering of the Company as soon as he returned to England. Lord Delaware, who had been prevented by continued illness from returning to Virginia, made preparations to go out as soon as possible. In April 1618, having "builded a faire ship," the *Neptune* for that purpose, he sailed in it with a hundred and sixty emigrants, men and women. He also chartered to follow him, the ship *Treasurer*, in which we have seen the then governor, as Captain Argall, on many interesting adventures. Contrary winds blew the *Neptune* about mercilessly and in addition to seasickness, its passengers were afflicted with dysentery. During the long, dreadful voyage, Lord Delaware and thirty of his emigrants died and most of the survivors arrived at Jamestown ill.

The *Treasurer* arrived about the same time. The *Neptune* returned to England with the sorrowful news and Governor Argall fitted out the *Treasurer* and sent her on a piratical voyage against Spanish dominions in the West Indies—using as excuse an old commission from the Duke of Savoy. This voyage was disavowed by the owners of the ship and the

Virginia authorities, after Argall's departure from the colony, and by the Company in London, and the Spanish government was paid damages.

Sir Robert Rich, who had now become the Earl of Warwick, and a small minority of the Company were ardent supporters of Argall against a great majority of members. The Company adopted and issued a "Declaration" naming offences said to have been committed by Argall and explaining the opposition of Warwick to proceeding against him. Warwick admitted his partnership with Argall and asked and received permission to take his share of Argall's goods, ordered to be seized. Doubtless a feature of this partnership was the settlement or "hundred" of Argall's Town, near Jamestown. About the time of Argall's administration and later a number of large land grants, generally known as "hundreds" were made to companies, or associations, of men who proposed to send over settlers. Among these grants were Smith's, Berkeley, Martin's, Southampton, and others. These were to be worked for the private profit of members of the various subordinate companies. It happens that at this period the earliest extant Virginia will devising privately owned land was made by Captain Robert Smalley of Bermuda Hundred, who had been commander of that place. It is dated December 19, 1617. In it Smalley bequeathed a house and grounds at Bermuda Hundred, ten head of cattle and also gave tobacco and other things to his four men servants. He gave to "Captain Samuel Argall, Esq., now governor of Virginia, executor, 2 Yoke of Oxen when my tobacco hath paid for them." Later his widow charged that Argall had robbed her of some of her cattle.

Disasters during Argall's administration included general sickness in 1617, among both English and Indians. Even the deer were sick. In the year following a serious drought and a violent hailstorm wrought havoc among the crops.

In April 1618, died Powhatan, at Orapax, "the Westminster Abbey of the Virginia Indians" and was doubtless buried in one of the "long houses" there, built especially for the bodies of chiefs and great men of tribes. Not long after London

heard of the passing of the Indian king, it received news that Lord Delaware also was no more. Captain George Yeardley was chosen to succeed his Lordship as Governor and Captain General of Virginia. At the Company's Quarter Court meeting about February 1, 1619, Governor Yeardley was knighted and instructed to proceed against Argall in Virginia, when proofs in regard to his course were obtainable. John Pory was appointed Secretary of State to succeed Rolfe, who lost "place of command" by reason of his adherence to Argall—though he was retained in the Council. Argall did not await his successor's arrival. The *Elinor*, a small vessel said to have been sent out by Warwick, reached Virginia April 6, 1619, and about April 20, sailed away with Argall aboard, leaving Captain Nathaniel Powell to act as deputy governor until the coming of Yeardley. When Argall arrived in England he was confronted with Brewster's charges. The Company declared the proceedings against Brewster unjust and the sentence was annulled.

Captain John Smith, in recording in his "Historie" the death of Lord Delaware, pays a tribute to that beloved early governor of Virginia, but with characteristic common sense adds: "Yet this tender State of Virginia was not growne to that maturitie to maintaine such state and pleasure as was fit for such a personage, with so brave an attendance. . . . For in Virginia a plaine Souldier that can use a Pick-axe and spade, is better than five knights."

The division in the Virginia Company of London over the Argall case was the beginning of dissensions which lasted till the Company's charter was revoked. The liberal majority in the Company was closely allied to the liberal party in Parliament which opposed many of the king's measures. James was hostile to both and for several years his jealousy and suspicion of the Company were stimulated by the Warwick faction within it. For a brief period the opposing factions united in the election of Sir Edwin Sandys as Treasurer and head of the Company—Sir Thomas Smith having declined re-election. From the division caused by the Argall incident to the end, the destinies of the Company in London

and the colony of Virginia were in the hands of the liberal majority. It is to these men that Professor Osgood, the eminent historian, has paid tribute: "The names of Sandys and the Ferrars stand high on the roll of patriots by which the first generation of the Stuart period is distinguished. . . . As successors of Gilbert and Raleigh, they were planting a new England beyond the Atlantic. About this enterprise still clung some of the spirit and memories of the Elizabethan seamen and the early struggles with Spain. . . . The glamour of romance, of the heroic, attaches to the founding of Virginia and Plymouth and makes them fit subjects for the poet. . . . In the Records of the Virginia Company some reflection may be seen of this early zeal, of the plans and ideals to which it gave rise. Even their pages, cast in a style which is quite unusual in records of this nature, make one realize that he is in the company of noble and earnest spirits, men who were conscious that they were engaged in a great enterprise."

Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York, was a distinguished graduate and fellow of Oxford. He had travelled on the continent and was an author and statesman, but late in his life he fell into disfavour with James I by reason of his liberal policies and his opposition to rescinding the charter of the Virginia Company. In addition to his country home, "Northborne," Kent, he had a town house in which the Company held some of its quarterly meetings. Others were held at the town house of the Ferrars in St. Osyth's (now Sithe's) Lane, near Aldergate.

The most serious lack in the twelve-year-old colony was women. They had come in a few at a time after the second year. Lady Yeardley was now there and a number of the colonists had wives or daughters or sisters to turn mere houses into homes. But the majority of them were lonely bachelors.

Before the year 1619 was out rumours began to reach Jamestown that a movement was afoot in England to provide the exiles in Virginia with brides and all on a June day of 1620 arrived the ship *Jonathan*, 350 tons, which had left England with two hundred passengers—among them "many

maids for wives." In the same month came the *London Merchant*, 200 tons, with more maids for wives "for the making of the men feel at home in Virginia." On July 16, 1621, a list of subscriptions was read, at a meeting of the Virginia Company, for sending out "a hundred maids for wives" for the Virginians. At the meeting of November following the matter was brought up again and it was announced that, "Whereby the Planters minds may be the faster tyed to Virginia by the bonds of wives and children . . . care has been taken to provide them young, handsome and honestly educated maids, whereof sixty are already sent to Virginia, being such as were specially recommended to the Company for their good bringing up by their parents or friends of good worth, which maids are to be disposed in marriage to the most honest and industrious planters, who are to defraye and satisfye to the adventurers the charge of their passage and provisions." In the fall of 1621 the ship *Marmaduke*, 100 tons, arrived with "one widow and eleven maids for wives, at the expences of the Earl of Southampton and others—every man that marries one to give 120 lbs. of best leafe Tobacco (passage money) for her, they not to be married to servants, but only to such freemen or tenants as have means to maintain them." Sir Edwin Sandys wrote a special letter to the Governor and Council in Virginia, beseeching them to be "as fathers" to the maids and "make their condition so much better as multitudes may be allured thereby to come unto you." At the Company's Michaelmas Quarter Court, December 1, 1621, £800 was subscribed "for sending of maids to Virginia to be made wives, which the planters there did very much desire." On December 20, 1621, the *Warwick* came in bringing among its passengers "an extraordinary choice lot of thirty-eight maids for wives." The *Tiger* came in a little later bringing "several more." About two hundred came in all.

Many prominent members of the Virginia Company were interested in sending over the maids. By order of Sir Edwin Sandys, marriage was not to be forced upon them. They were to be placed in homes of married couples of good repute until



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THE COMING OF THE MAIDENS AS WIVES FOR THE SETTLERS

From a painting by George Cooke

By Courtesy of Miss Cornelia Shields, Richmond

they found husbands to their liking. As these husbands only paid the "adventurers" who sent them over enough to reimburse them for the amount they advanced, the plan was evidently prompted by an unselfish and laudable desire to furnish virtuous young women to be wives for the planters in Virginia.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST ASSEMBLY

WHEN the world was younger it looked for signs in the heavens and was often rewarded. On the night of November 18, 1618, merrie England saw a Comet—"a blazing Star"—though few if any who were thrilled by its appearance realized the importance of that date to England's faraway child, Virginia. On that day the Company in London sitting in the Michaelmas term of its Quarter Court, authorized, with the King's sanction, government of the people by the people, for the people of England's first colony, for on that day it issued a commission for establishing at Jamestown a General Assembly composed of a Council of State and a House of Burgesses—two burgesses to represent each borough, or plantation of, roughly speaking, one hundred inhabitants. It was on the same day that Captain George Yeardley was "solemnly chosen" to be Governor and Captain General of Virginia, and given official instructions concerning the Assembly and other concessions creating so liberal a form of government that these papers are sometimes called Virginia's Magna Charta. Said papers were first, "The great Charter of privileges, orders and laws directed to the Governor and Council of Estate in Virginia." Second, the Commission for establishing the Council of Estate and the General Assembly. Third, "Sundry Instructions."

Yeardley was now thirty-two years old. The Company did well in making choice of him to effect this important change in Virginia's government, for his experience as a soldier in the Low Countries and as a planter and for a time governor in the colony, had trained him for the work. On November 24, James I "had a long discussion with him about Virginia, in which he proved very understanding." London gossip was busy with the Company's affairs. Witness one of the spicy news letters of John Chamberlain in which, November 28, 1618, he tells Sir Dudley Carleton, then in Holland, of

the marriage of Sir Thomas Smith's son, without his father's knowledge, to the Lady Isabella Rich, and that "two or three ships were ready for Virginia. . . . Captain Yeardley goes as governor and to grace him the more the King knighted him this last week at New Market, which hath set him up so high he flaunts it up and down the streets in extraordinarie bravarie with foureteen or fifteen fayre liveries after him." On the same day that chatty man of the world, John Pory, sent a letter to Sir Dudley in which he said that at the request of the newly elected Governor, the Company's Council had "no longer ago than yesterday" chosen him (Pory) to go as Secretary of State. Yeardley's wife had been Mistress Temperance Flowerdieu, and Pory adds: "This Sir George Yeardley hath married my Cousin German, and infinitely desires my company. . . . I mean not to adventure my carcase in so dangerous a business for nothing. The Governor himself hath proffered to make my means worth £200 a year at least, which I propose to accept, so he will allow me £50 to set me forth."

It is from a letter of Pory's after he reached Virginia that we learn that Governor Yeardley "at his first coming to Virginia, besides a great deal of worth in his person brought onely his sword with him; but lately while in London, together with his lady, out of his mere getting in Virginia, he was able to disburse very near three thousand pounds to furnish himself for his return voyage."

The Virginia Company was guided by Sir Edwin Sandys and John Ferrar in sending out Yeardley as governor, provided with the instruments for initiating a vastly more liberal government, but as plans for the change had been maturing, before the end of Sir Thomas Smith's administration, he should be given part of the credit.

And now we cross the threshold of the year 1619—the most eventful year of colonial Virginia, save its birth year, 1607, and its passing year, 1776. The knight being sent forth by Company and King has no rose-coloured illusions of the New World. He has been cast away in the ship *Sea Venture* in the Bermudas, to arrive nine months later at starving Jamestown, and afterward to serve a year as planter and governor in

Virginia. Nobody can tell him anything new about troubles there, nor about the goodly tall trees, noble rivers, and fair bays. He has felt the hardships and the lure of that virgin land and is ready to try it again. He is a soldier. His good sword is still at his side and the good courage that carried him with distinction through battles in the Low Countries is still stoutening his arm. He is sent out clothed with power to work a complete transformation in the colony's government and to bring unexpected content and incentive to the Virginians, as we may begin to call the colonists now that a respectable number of them have survived all accidents and stuck it out there long enough to be spoken of as "ancient planters."

It is then January 29, 1619, and Sir George Yeardley, is sailing from London to Virginia, in a ship which bears his own name—the *George*. This good but slow ship is under way with one hundred passengers. Its sails are filled. The hand kissing, handkerchief waving on shore and deck are over. As the ship moves over the waters does Sir George look back toward London or out toward far-away Virginia? Unfortunately there is no portrait of him to show us the face above the Elizabethan ruff—still in fashion—but it was, we may be sure, resolute and somewhat rugged as a soldier's face is like to be, and true to Shakespeare's picture, "bearded."

Notable among other passengers are Lady Temperance Yeardley and her accomplished cousin, John Pory, Master of Arts of Caius College, Cambridge, ex-member of Parliament, a man of wide travel and acquaintance. The Governor is also taking along a kinsman of his own, Ensign Edmund Rossingham. The long voyage will give plenty of time for the Governor to explain to all the significance of the documents he is taking to the Virginians. First in importance is, of course, the order for calling a General Assembly, but of as great personal interest is the inauguration of the general granting of lands. The abandonment, during Governor Dale's time of the community plan had worked wonders for the colony . . . the granting every man a small piece of land to work for himself, instead of expending all his labour on the public work

and receiving in return only his keep. Now, with "intent to ease all the inhabitants of Virginia forever of all Taxes and publick burthens as may be and to take away all occasions of oppression and corruption," Governor Yeardley is ordered to lay out three thousand acres of land adjoining Jamestown to be known as the Governor's land and other three thousand acres in the territory of Jamestown to be called the Company's land. He is ordered to place the guard assigned to Governor Argall and fifty other persons, sent with him, as tenants on the Governor's land and all other persons transported at the charge of the Company since the coming away of Sir Thomas Dale (in 1616) as tenants on the Governor's and Company's lands—one half of the profit from the lands to belong to the tenants and the other half respectively to the Governor and to the Treasurer and Company and their successors. Half of the profits belonging to the Treasurer and Company is to be employed for entertainment of the Council of State in Virginia and other public officers of the colony, and half to be shipped to England for use of the Treasurer and Company and their successors. One fifth of the Company's half profits is to be deducted for wages for the bailiffs and other officers to have oversight and government of the said tenants and land and the care and distribution of the profits. Out of the Company's lands, it is wisely provided that a sufficient area be exempted for securing and wintering cattle of the public stock and Company.

More astonishing still is the order that all of Virginia that has been settled be divided into four great plantations or corporations each to have a capital city—namely, Jamestown, Charles City (at the present City Point) Henrico, and the borough of Kecoughtan, whose name the following year the Company will change to Elizabeth City, in honour of "his Majesty's most vertuous and renowned daughter"—the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, ancestress of the present royal line of England. In all these four cities or boroughs, the "ancient adventurers and planters who were transported to Virginia with intent to inhabit at their own costs and charges before the coming away of Sir Thomas

Dale, Knight, and had remained three years," are each to have upon a first division (to be afterwards augmented) one hundred acres of land in return for his personal adventure and one hundred acres more for every share of his stock—£12 10s. And persons brought over at the Company's charge are to receive grants of land when they have served the time for which they had engaged. In each of the four plantations three thousand acres are to be set aside to be worked by tenants (paying half profits) for the support of the officers of the colony.

The Governor's personal comfort and the dignity of his office are not forgotten. It is ordered that "the Governor's house in James Towne first built by Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, at the charges and by the servants of the Company and since enlarged by others by the very same means, be and continue forever the Governor's house." And the "Instructions" provide that, "In consideration of the long, good, and faithful service done by you, Captain George Yeardley, in our said colony and plantation of Virginia . . . and also in regard to two shares in money, paid into the treasury" the plantation known as Weyanoke is granted and other land not to exceed two thousand acres. Part of this grant is to become historic "Flower de Hundred" named for Lady Yeardley's maiden name—Flowerdieu. Nor are the clergy neglected. It is "ordained" that in every one of the cities or boroughs one hundred acres of land be reserved as glebe land toward the maintenance of the ministers of the parishes there and in addition there be raised yearly contributions out of the profits of the farms of said parish, to make the living of every minister two hundred pounds sterling per annum "or more."

For the encouragement of various trades it is ordained that if any artizan or tradesman desire to follow his particular art or trade rather than husbandry or other rural business the governor and council are to allot to him and his heirs forever a dwelling house and four acres—plenty of ground for a garden and pasture, or corn and tobacco field—upon condition he and his heirs continue to exercise his trade "in this house." Finally, plans for Christianizing the

Indians and education of both English and Indian children which have long been in the air are matured and set down in black and white. It is ordained in these instructions for government of a twelve-year-old colony engaged in a hand to hand warfare with savages, starvation and disease that a convenient place be chosen for a "University to be built at Henrico in the near future" and in the meantime preparation be made "for the building of a College for the children of the Infidels," and "1000 acres of land within the territory of Henrico be granted for the endowment of said University and College." We may be sure that these radical and beneficent innovations keep busy the tongues of the hundred passengers accompanying Governor Yeardley and his lady to Virginia during a voyage of three months to the day.

Every few days gossip is interrupted by a solemn service, a shrouded and weighted figure is let down into the deep and the ship goes on with one less soul aboard. For Death, busy on land and sea in this enterprise of building an English empire in the New World, does not spare Yeardley's ship, seventeen of whose passengers do not live to see the liberal new plans for Virginia materialize. On the *Diana*, with a hundred vagrant boys gathered up from London streets to make servants for the tenants and arriving at Jamestown near the same time as the *George*, the loss of life during the voyage was five per cent.

Wooded Virginia was in bloom on that Eighteenth of April, 1619, when the Great Charter that would give it new life was brought ashore at Jamestown, "about Easter." Captain Nathaniel Powell turned over the government to Sir George Yeardley who in accordance with orders from England admitted him to the Council, with Captain Francis West, John Pory, John Rolfe, and Parsons Wickham and Maycocke. The Governor announced that Sir Edwin Sandys was chosen Treasurer of the Company in London and Master John Ferrar his Deputy; and "what great supplies was a preparing to be sent us, which did ravish us so much with joy and content, we thought ourselves now fully satisfied for our long toils and labours, and as happy men as any in the world."

Sir George found food low and all his attention was at first occupied with providing for the wants of the colonists and carrying out the orders for putting the tenants and labourers to work. But "The 25 of June" says Smith, quoting Rolfe, "came in the *Triall*, with corne and cattell all in safety, which took from us cleerely all feare of famine; *then* our governor and Council caused burgesses to be chosen in all places and met at a general Assembly." There were then, besides Jamestown, to be represented ten "places," called variously "City," "borough," "hundred," or "plantation" ten settlements of cabins or cottages amidst gardens and fields, each "place" fortified against the Indians with wooden palisades—in which every man had his own allotment of land and when his day's work was done could sit down under his own roof tree. The colony, with the exception of the little settlement of Argall's Gift, on the Eastern Shore, was scattered some seventy miles along James River and was six or seven miles wide. Its inhabitants numbered about one thousand. Prosperity had not quite arrived, but thanks to tobacco, it was in sight.

Such was Virginia when dawned the first election day in the colony and in America. "Sir George Yeardley, Knight, Governor and Captain General of Virginia, having sent his summons all over the country there were chosen two representatives for each borough." It was a "torrid summer." Bright and early in the dazzling heat of July 30 (or some time during the day before), each councillor and burgess spurred his horse or set his sloop's sail toward Jamestown. From Charles City and the City of Henricus came the burgesses—two by two. From Martin's Brandon, Martin's Hundred, and Lawne's Plantation, they came; from Ward's Plantation, Argall's Gift, and Flowerdieu Hundred; from Smith's Hundred and Kecoughtan and of course Jamestown had its two members.

It was in a Virginia Church—St. John's, Richmond—that Patrick Henry when the rights that England had given America were endangered, cried, "Give me liberty or give me death!" and it was in the small wooden church in Jamestown,

in Virginia, that the transplanted Englishmen who were the earliest Americans, met in General Assembly to exercise those rights for the first time. In the words of Secretary Pory—who was made Speaker of the House—it is written: “The most convenient place we could find to sitt in was the Quire of the Church, where Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, being sett down in his accustomed place, those of the Council of Estate sate next him on both handes, excepte only the secretary then appointed Speaker who sate right before him, John Levine, Clerke of the General Assembly, being placed nexte the Speaker and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant standing at the barre to be ready for any service the Assembly should command him.” As the first Legislature in any English Colony in the world, this Assembly was not only the fore-runner of American Colonial and State legislatures and of the United States Congress, but of Canadian, Australian, and African parliaments. The coming of the Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth was still more than a year off and among the French to the north or Spaniards to the south such an innovation was not to be dreamed of. It was only through the lonely outpost of England on the banks of James River, in Virginia, that free government could have been brought to the New World in the year of grace 1619. The church is believed to have been the counterpart of the building of Lord Delaware’s time which it succeeded and of which we have, happily, a complete description. The fashion set by Lord Delaware of having it “trimmed up with divers flowers” was easy to follow at this season when Queen Anne’s lace fringed the roadside, and trumpet vines hung every available tree with bloom. Under the brick paved floor of the church and in the graves around it were the bones of many who had given their lives for the colony. Sir George Yeardley himself, presiding over the Assembly in his throne-like chair on this history-making summer’s day would ere long be sleeping under the red-tiled chancel where there may still be seen a gravestone believed to be his. Its inscription is gone but its worn markings show that it covers the dust of a knight. We can see the assembling in this sweet place of America’s earliest legislature. There

are hearty greetings, of course, and exchange of news of crops and home happenings. Here comes the Governor in all the state in which he fares to service on Sundays. He wears his "holiday attire" and on either side of him and before march his body guard arrayed in his Excellency's livery and armed with halberds. He enters the choir and sits him down in his chair. Next come the councillors (their good swords clanking at their sides and spurs ringing on the paved aisle as they walk) and take their seats on his right and left. Similarly accoutred follow the burgesses in orderly procession—two by two. "Forasmuch as men's affaires do little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the burgesses tooke their places in the choir till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke the minister, that it please God to guide and sanctifie all our proceedings to his Owne glory and the good of this plantation.

"Prayer being ended, to the intente that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with awful and due respecte towards his lieutenant, our most gracious and dread soveraigne, all the burgesses were entreated to retyre themselves into the body of the church, which being done, before they were freely admitted they were called to order by name and so every man (none staggering at it) took the oath of supremacy and then entered into the Assembly." As they take their seats—hats on, according to an ancient custom, at "home"—let us have a closer look at these Englishmen chosen by their fellows to make a beginning of self-government in the country known today as the Land of the Free.

As we know, Governor Yeardley's knighthood has been earned as an officer in the wars of England's ally, Holland, against Spain, and by his services to Virginia. The marriage, after a while of his cousin to the mother of a little boy by the name of John Harvard will give him a slight, interesting link with New England. Among members of the Council, we recognize Lord Delaware's brother, Francis West. As the settler of West Hundred, the plantation to become widely known as "Westover," the seat of the Byrd family, he will leave his name in perpetual remembrance. Master Ralph



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VIRGINIA'S FIRST BURGESSES

From the painting by Luis Mora

The first-legislative assembly in any English colony in the world. Jamestown, 1619

By Courtesy of Harper's Magazine

Hamor, Secretary of State is another familiar figure. The author of this book thanks him for his valuable "Relation." John Rolfe, has not only made himself famous by marrying Powhatan's daughter, but incalculably useful by thus compounding peace between the colonists and the Indians, and by his success in tobacco culture. A sword, or to be more literal, a tomahawk, hangs over his head—though he does not know it—for despite his connection with the Indians he will be murdered by them in the massacre three years hence. Captain Nathaniel Powell was a "first settler" and has stood by the colony ever since. We have seen him exploring with his friend Captain John Smith and read his contributions to Smith's celebrated "Historie." Both he and his wife will be victims of the massacre. For Rev. Samuel Maycocke, the "Cambridge scholar"—for this inoffensive man of God and booklover, also, the red man gleefully whets his tomahawk. Rev. William Wickham, a gentleman of good family and a clergyman of the Church of England, has long been a loyal servant of the colony. Secretary-Speaker Pory's knowledge of parliamentary law and proceedings, acquired while a member of the House of Commons, is to prove valuable in helping the councillors and burgesses conduct the Assembly according to form.

And now a glance at the burgesses: "James Cittie" is represented by "Ensign Spence" and doughty Captain William Powell—famous Indian fighter. Captains Samuel Sharp and Samuel Jordan of "Jordan's Journey" representing Charles City came over early. Captain Jordan is the husband of the fascinating Madam Cicely Jordan, who (as his widow) is to become the first Virginia belle and coquette of record. Her career as a heart-breaker will cause a future General Assembly to pass a law for the protection of Virginia bachelors and give her a permanent place in history. For Kecoughtan appear Captain William Tucker, a leading merchant, and William Capps, a "first settler." It is interesting to find in this legislature which was the beginning of American democracy, a "Mr. Jefferson"—an English merchant. He and Governor Yeardley's nephew, "Ensign Rossingham" represent "Flower de Hundred." Captain Christopher Lawne, who,

with "Ensign Washer" represents Lawne's Plantation, was formerly a member of the Puritan Society at Amsterdam. Members for Smith's Hundred are "Mr. Walter Shelley"—an early settler—and Captain Thomas Graves, a first settler who is to serve the colony long and honourably. From Martin's Hundred have come "Mr. John Boys"—still another victim-to-be of the massacre—and John Juxon, kinsman of Bishop Juxon. From Argall's Gift come "Mr. Gourgainy" and Captain Thomas Paulett, a great-grandson of the Marquis of Winchester. "Cap Warde" represents Warde's Plantation, his own large patent. His colleague is "Lieutenant Gibbes," son of Mr. Thomas Gibbes of the Virginia Company of London. Of Thomas Dowse and John Polentine, who sit for the City of Henricus, we only know that their fellow planters of that borough chose them. Slight as are these bits of testimony from early records they give an impression of a personable body of men, equal to the responsibility with which they were entrusted by those who knew them best.

Before they got down to work came a scene showing that the traditional American ideal of fair play to all and special privileges to none was present in this germ of free government. The Governor called attention to a phrase in Captain John Martin's patent exempting his borough "from any command of the colony except to be ayding and assisting the same against any forren or domestical enemy." The "honourable" Councillors and "worthy burgesses" were of the opinion that the clause gave Captain Martin and his settlers at historic "Brandon" the privilege of choosing whether or not they would obey laws about to be made for the whole colony. Captain Martin was an "ancient planter" of 1607, a man of prominence and of property. Yet he was promptly summoned before the Assembly and informed that he must give up the objectionable clause or withdraw his burgesses. He declined to give up the clause and his burgesses were excluded.

The Assembly opened on Friday, July 30, and sat through the following Wednesday—five sweltering midsummer days. But notwithstanding heat which caused "alteration of the

healths of divers present," much interesting business was transacted. Laws which smack of modern war measures were passed to regulate planting and trade, fix the price of tobacco and make killing of cattle illegal. And now was laid down America's earliest "slacker" law. If any man in the colony lived in idleness the court was to appoint for him "a master, whom he was to serve for wages until he shewe apparent signs of amendment." To prevent extravagance in dress every man was to be taxed according to the value of the clothes he wore to church. "If he be unmarried according to his own apparel; if he be married, according to his own and his wife's." "On Sundays all persons whatsoever must frequent divine service and sermons, both forenoon and afternoon, and all such as bear arms shall bring their pieces, swords, powder and shot," this by way of preparedness against Indian surprise. It was enacted that "no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and ancient quarrels revived." Also, that each town, city, borough and particular plantation do obtain unto themselves by just means a certain number of the natives' children "to be educated by them in true religion and civil course of life—of which children the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature be brought up by them in the first elements of literature so as to be fitted for the college intended for them." Ministers and church wardens were to prevent immorality by "good admonitions and mild reproof," but sinners who persisted in their evil ways were to be presented for trial and punished according to their offences. Continued persistence in their "enormous sins" was to be punished by excommunication.

For drunkenness the culprit ("if a private person") was to be reproved by the minister—privately for the first offence, publicly for the second. For the third, he was to "lie in bolts twelve hours in the house of the provost marshal and pay his fee." If an officer offend in this crime, "private rebuke for the first offence should come from the Governor himself; for the second, reproof from the minister should be delivered 'openly in the church,' for the third, the offender should be

thrown into jail and deprived of his rank. 'Against gaming with dice and cards,' it was enacted that the winner or winners shall lose all his or their winnings." Both winners and losers were to be fined ten shillings each—"one ten shillings whereof was to go to the discoverer and the rest to pious uses. Among petitions sent to the Virginia Company was one providing that in the allotment of land to the planters each male child born in Virginia should be given one share for himself and one share for his wife for herself—"because that in a new plantation it is not known whether a man or a woman be the more necessary.' Another interesting petition asked that the Company would send over for the proposed University and College 'workers of all sorts fit for that purpose.' "

After sweating and stewing, battling with flies and mosquitoes to limit of endurance, the Assembly adjourned to meet again in the following March. And so passed into history the gathering at little Jamestown in Virginia, of the first free legislature in America.

The ill effects of the intense heat which began to show among the members of the Assembly before its close developed early in the fall into general sickness throughout the colony. Newcomers were "sore shaken with burning fevers." About half of the one thousand colonists were unacclimated recent arrivals and many of them died.

It is interesting to know that at the very time of the meeting of the Assembly at Jamestown the Virginia Company (meeting at Sir Edwin Sandys' house) granted and sealed a patent to John Winecopp "intending to go in person to Virginia and plant himself and associates"—the Pilgrims. It was sent to Leyden by Elder Brewster. When received by the Pilgrims they "had a solemn meeting and a day of humiliation to seek the Lord for his direction," and their pastor preached them a sermon appropriate to the occasion. But they did not leave Holland under that grant.

In the following winter, Feb. 2, 1620, at the house of Sir Edwin Sandys, the Virginia Company issued to John Pierce and Associates the patent under which the Pilgrims finally

sailed. The *Mayflower* is included in the list of ships sent out by the Company that year. Sir Edwin was instrumental in obtaining the King's permission to their settlement in America and in securing from the Virginia Company privileges of self-government similar to those already granted the Jamestown colony. Though sailing under authority of the Virginia Company however, the Pilgrims landed within the territory of the Plymouth Company, where they had no grant. They later received one.

CHAPTER XIV

SERVANTS

COLONIAL Virginians of all classes had one vital interest in common—the crop. Whether he cultivated a small patch of land by the sweat of his own brow or a great plantation with the help of many servants—white and black—each colonist was in a small or large way, an agriculturist, coaxing from the soil a harvest of grain or of tobacco, living close to Nature and watching the skies for favourable signs of rain or sun; for the chief source of providing a living or accumulating a fortune was a crop or crops. Out of the simple, hearty country life which bound the people together in this wholesome interest grew the special brand of civilization known as Virginian. Out of it grew the unaffected, genial man known as the Virginia gentleman and called by many dependant creatures “Ole Marster,” and the gentlewoman full of sympathy and charm who was “Mistis,” or “Ole Miss,” out of it Virginia independence of spirit, the Virginia hospitality, devotion to home and to the very soil under foot that have become proverbial.

The development of Virginia into an agricultural colony was largely determined by an elaborate labour system founded during Governor Yeardley’s administration. Before the private ownership of land, the mass of the people were the Company’s servants. Gentleman and labourer worked side by side, cutting down trees, planting corn, constructing palisades, dwelling houses or church. No wages were paid, but the “Cape Merchant” received into the public storehouse at Jamestown the harvest produced by the colonists, the corn or other food obtained from the Indians and the supplies that came in ships from “home,” and every man received his ration—sufficient or insufficient.

Yeardley, acting under orders of the Company, proclaimed freedom from servitude to the “ancient planters” and discontinuance of martial law. And now set in the demand for

servants. Before crops could be made the lands granted must be cleared of woods, if they were high and dry; drained and cleared of marsh grass if they were swampy. Labourers in number proportionate to the size of the farm to be cleared and tilled were not a luxury, but a necessity. Demand for them had become acute before 1619, for kidnapping of persons in England to be sold into servitude for a term of years in Virginia and Bermuda was a frequent crime of 1618 and later years. Owen Evans was arrested and jailed for paying five shillings to one man and twelve pence to another, to "press six maidens." He threatened still another with hanging unless he would "press him some maidens, to be sent as servants to Virginia." This "bred such terror in the poor maidens" who heard of it, that "forty of them fled out of one parish into such obscure and remote places that their parents and masters could not find them." Laws were passed to produce a labour supply for the colony and at the same time provide work and opportunity for some of England's army of unemployed and needy people. Men and women voluntarily contracted with the Virginia Company or with ship captains to transport them to Virginia and bind them for stated terms of service. Children were collected by the Company, outfitted with clothing and shipped to the colony, where they were bound out or "sold" for a term of years, under contracts of indenture. Boys were usually bound for seven years or until of age; girls until of age or married. Remember, England expected her colonists to furnish employment for her surplus population. However objectionable the emergency measure adopted for fulfilling this expectation may seem today, it brought vast relief to England, to the colonies and to the servants themselves for the century and a half that it lasted.

Early in 1619 the Virginia Company by order of the King, shipped one hundred boys to the colony. Fifty of these arrived in May on the ship *Duty*, and were long known as the "Duty boys." In January, 1620, the Lord Mayor of London agreed with the Company to furnish a hundred more boys from the streets of the city and subscribed five pounds sterling apiece toward the expense of their clothing and voyage. He took

pains to safeguard their interests as far as possible. The system of apprenticeship under which they served was patterned after an Elizabethan statute which had proved valuable in England.

Secretary Pory, in a letter to England September 30, 1619, reported, "All our riches for the present doe consiste in Tobacco," and further on says: "Our principall wealth consisteth in servants." Without abundance of labour tobacco could not be cultivated in any quantity and the price of tobacco (very high at this time) fixed the value of the labourer's work. The Company promised in writing to have the children it sent over for servants taught trades or professions and that they would be well fed, clothed, and cared for during their apprenticeship. At the end of his term each boy was to become a tenant, be given the use of fifty acres of land, a cow, farming implements, tools, household utensils, fire arms and ammunition. At the end of his term as tenant he was to be entirely free and be given outright twenty acres of land. The Company counted on the price paid by the masters to whom these indentured servants were bound out, to reimburse it for the expense of outfitting and transportation. In 1621 the usual price for a boy was sixty-six hundred weight of tobacco at three shillings a pound.

In addition to the street boys sent as apprentices for tenants, one hundred and fifty servants were sent to work for the College and fifty to cultivate lands for the support of the school intended for the education of "30 of the infidel children in true civility." A hundred and fifty persons were sent to set up iron works and to produce cordage, pitch, tar, timber, silk, vines, and salt. Masters furnished food, clothing and arms for the first year, while servants were becoming acclimated. If they lived through the year they were said to "prove hardy, sound, able men."

If they lived through the year! Disease and Death wrought as busily among servants as among other emigrants during that critical first year. More busily, doubtless, for underfed bodies from homes of the poor, or infected ones from jails, had little power to resist malaria and epidemics then preva-

lent in Virginia or the burning suns that beat upon tobacco fields, and they died by hundreds to help make Virginia great. They too were the unknown soldier, though they have never had a monument and perhaps no one has ever realized the important part they played in the drama of Virginia colonization. See them at work—scattered over the fields around Jamestown, Hampton, and Point Comfort, at Bermuda and Henrico. Many of them are sallow and emaciated and almost too weak to stand, many are homesick for old England—forgetting the hunger they suffered there and only recalling green lanes and birds' song. All of these "Prisoners of Hope" are counting, day by day, day by day, the time that will bring them freedom, though not all of them will see their days of servitude run out. Pory writes in the fall of 1619: "Both English and Indians this torride summer were visited with sickness and mortality which our good God (his name be blessed for it) hath recompensed with a marvelous plenty." The harvest was the largest that the colony had known.

Indentured servants were sometimes severely punished by their masters or overseers and punishments by the government for offences against their masters, especially for running away, were barbarous—for instance public whipping on the bare skin or nailing the culprit's ears to the pillory. These horrors belonged to the time. They were brought from merrie England and believed to be necessary for example in a colony where indentured servants outnumbered free men. Their condition was better than it would have been in any part of Europe, for there was steady employment for everybody, no anxiety concerning food or raiment, and the heavenly hope of freedom. Pory's letter adds a splash of colour to the picture: "Now that your Lordship may knowe that we are not the veriest beggars in the world our cow-keeper here at James Citty, on Sundays, goes accoutered all in fresh flaming silke; and a wife of one that in England had professed the black arte, not of a schollar but a collier of Croydon, weares her rough beaver hatt with a faire perle hattband and a silken suite thereto correspondent." And here is a little portrait of Pory himself (with the Virginia scene for background) which

he slips in for our delectation: "At my first coming hither the solitary uncouthness of this place compared with those parts of Christendome or Turkey where I had been, and likewise my being sequestered from all occurents and passages which are so rife there, did not a little vexe me. And yet in these five months here there have come . . . eleven saile of ships into this river. . . . At length being hardened to this custome of abstinence from curiosity, I am resolved wholly to minde my business here and next after my penne, to have some good book alwayes in store, being, in solitude, the best and choicest companion. Besides, among these christall rivers and odoriferous woods I doe escape much expense, envye, contempte, vanity and vexation of minde."

Doubtless this description applies to some of the servants as well as the accomplished Master Pory, for though most indentured servants were actual labourers every class from gentlemen of birth to the humblest toiler was represented by them. Younger sons or brothers of gentlemen and merchants were indentured in the colony to learn to become planters and later acquire land—a practice repeated late in the nineteenth century, when English youths were sent as farm pupils to Virginia. The spendthrift nephew of a certain English baronet when at the end of his resources sold himself for seven years in Virginia and, as he later wrote his family, was ashamed to let them know until his term of service expired. He became the head of a respectable family. A less creditable case, mentioned by William Byrd was that of the dissolute daughter of a baronet sent as a servant to Virginia that her family might be rid of her. After becoming free most indentured servants swelled the ranks of the tenantry or small farmers. A few who had talents and energy rose in course of time to local distinction.

The earliest warrant banishing convicts to a life of servitude in Virginia was dated March 24, 1617. One hundred were sent in 1619. In the seventeenth century all convicts were not criminals, nor all servants menials. Servants in England and the colonies included all persons serving an employer in any capacity, from a field-hand or domestic servant to a skilled

mechanic, private secretary, or physician's apprentice. At a time when the death penalty was ordained, for many for acts of misconduct the term convict was applied to persons sentenced for anything from petty larceny to highway robbery, from "persistent preaching" (by unlicensed persons) to piracy. It included many political offenders, many who had taken part in rebellions, many who were prisoners for conscience sake. Sometimes real criminals escaped the gallows because they were skilled workmen and it seemed a waste to take their lives. The first real criminal sent to the colony—a carpenter convicted of manslaughter—was spared because Virginia "needed carpenters." Despite the need of servants, the colony opposed the emigration of convicts and after a time succeeded in keeping them out altogether for many years. There is no way of approximating the number sent. Most of those of the early Seventeenth century had been sentenced for trifling offenses. In April, 1670, "Divers gentlemen" of York, Gloucester, and Middlesex counties complained of the great number of felons being banished from England to Virginia. The Virginia Council adopted an order prohibiting the importation of any more such people after January 20 following. On Nov. 25, 1671, a merchant named Nevit was ordered by the Governor and Council to "send away the Newgate birds"—a slang term for jail birds from Newgate prison, London—within two months. On Oct. 21, 1670, the English Privy Council confirmed the Virginia Council's order forbidding shipping of convicts to the colony, but eight years later the order was disregarded and fifty-two Scotch convicts—doubtless Covenanters—were sent as servants to Virginia. They were as far as is known, the last convicts sent to Virginia in the seventeenth century. Doubtless a percentage of the criminal convicts healthy enough to resist the "epidemic diseases" in the colony became permanent residents, but in such small communities they were bound to be marked men who would only mingle socially with the dregs of the population. Descendants of some of these may have risen to higher place, but none who have made research into Virginia records have found a family descended from one of them. Kidnapping—called "spiriting"

—of persons to be taken as servants to Virginia and exaggerated rumours of harsh treatment of servants, long gave Virginia an unjustly bad reputation in England, especially among the mass of plain people.

All students of Virginia History are familiar with Captain Smith's brief quotation from John Rolfe's letter dated Jamestown, January, 1620: "About the last of August came a Dutch man of Warre that sold us twenty Negars." The general impression has been that slavery in the colony began with that Dutch man of war and various writers have contended that the ship *Treasurer* brought negro slaves to Virginia at the same time. Rolfe's letter, still in existence, more fully quoted says: "About the latter end of August a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of 160 tunes arrived at Point Comfort, the Commander's name Captain Jope. . . . They mett with the *Treasurer* in the West Indyces and determined to hold consortshipp hitherward, but in their passage lost one another. Captain Jope brought not anything but 20 and odd negroes wch the Governor and Cape Merchant bought for victualle (whereof he was in greate need). . . . Three or four daies after, the *Treasurer* arrived. At his arrival he sent word presently to the Governor to know his pleasure, who wrote to him and did request myselfe and two others . . . to go downe to him to desire him to come up to James Cytie. But before we gott downe he had sett saile and was gone out of the Bay."

The letter flatly contradicts the contention that the *Treasurer* brought Negroes and there is no word to suggest that those in the Dutch Man of War were slaves. The latest theory is that they were sold "for victualle" not as slaves—which was always for life—but as servants for a term of years, as white servants were. There had been no slavery in England or the colony, but selling of persons into temporary servitude was a familiar practice. The names of about eleven of the "20 and odd" negroes are known. Some of them are Spanish which indicates that they had been baptized by the Spaniards. The English law then enfranchized slaves who received the rite of baptism. In 1625 was recorded the baptism of "Wil-

liam"—a child born to two of these Negroes and doubtless named for their master, Captain William Tucker. The parents, Anthony and Isabella, had evidently already received the rite, as their baptism at this time is not mentioned. Not until 1667, when the institution of slavery was more than twenty years old, was the Virginian act passed providing that negroes could be baptized without being emancipated—in order that masters could retain their slaves without preventing them from becoming Christians.

The common belief that all negroes brought to Virginia in the early period were slaves is an error. Virginia records show a number of instances of negro servants bound by indenture for periods of time after which they were to receive freedom as white indentured servants did and that freed negro servants could own land and be masters of negro indentured servants. Moreover, a father who had bound out his child for a long period could buy his or her release from the indenture before the term was out. A list of persons living in Virginia in 1624-25, mentions twenty-three African "servants," not slaves—evidently the original "20 and odd," or most of them, who had stood the "seasoning" years in Virginia better than most white people and who had not yet become slaves. In 1625 a West Indian negro named Braze was hired to Lady Yeardley for "forty weight of good, merchantable tobacco, a month." He later became the "servant"—not slave—of Governor Yeardley's successor, Sir Francis Wyatt. It is impossible to say exactly when actual slavery in the colony began, but it seems to have been about 1640. A large percentage of negro emigrants after that year were sold to the colonists for life. Between this year and 1660 slavery grew steadily and the earliest act recognizing it was passed in 1661, but there were always many negroes who, either by working out their time of servitude or being given freedom by their masters, became and remained free—earning their living as hired day labourers, as mechanics, or by hoeing their own rows of corn, tobacco, and cabbages. Virginia had a much larger population of free negroes than any other colony, North or South. When war between the states broke

out Virginia's free negroes numbered approximately sixty thousand and wills had been made by masters leaving their slaves freedom as a legacy. One such master was George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Martha Washington and father-in-law of Robert E. Lee. His will directed that his slaves be freed within five years after his death. In 1862 General Lee, who had freed his own few slaves long before the war, spent several hours of the day after one of his great victories signing emancipation papers as executor of the Custis estate.

CHAPTER XV

THE COLLEGE

THE impression made by Pocahontas and the Indians who accompanied her to England gave a tremendous spur to the desire to Christianize and educate the American natives, which had been from the first one of the objects of English colonization in the New World. Pocahontas, the earliest Christian of her race, was hailed in England as "the first fruits of Virginia conversion" and on her death at Gravesend, was declared to have left in England "a godly memory." Within a few days after her burial King James sent the two Archbishops special grant and license to instruct the bishops of all the dioceses to have collections made in the parish churches throughout the realm, "for the erecting of some churches and schools for ye education of ye children of those Barbarians in Virginia." Early in the year 1619, fifteen hundred pounds had been raised. Sir Edwin Sandys, the Ferrars, the Earl of Southampton and other leading members of the Virginia Company, were deeply interested and planned a complete graded system of education from primary school to University, for the benefit not only of the Indians, but of colonists' children who had to be sent home to England to be educated. The Company granted ten thousand acres of land for the University to be planted at Henricopolis and one thousand acres for a college for training Indian children "in the true knowledge of God and in some useful employment," but we learn from the Minutes that "it was conceived fittest to forbear building the college a while" and use the money in hand for an endowment fund.

On February 2, 1619, a letter was handed to Sandys, presiding over the Quarter Court of the Company. Its writer, who signed himself "Dust and Ashes" promised the gift of £550 for the "mayntenance of a convenyent number of young Indians taken at the age of Seaven Years or Younger and instructed in the readinge and understandinge the principalls

of Xian Religion unto the age of 12 years and then . . . to be brought upp in some lawfull Trade with all humanitie and gentleness untill of the age, one and Twenty years, and then to enjoye like liberties and pryveledge with our English in that place."

On February 22, a box was placed on the Company's Council Chamber table "by a man of good fashion who would neither tell his name nor whence he came." All in a flutter, the honourable gentlemen of the Council compared the address with that on the letter. The handwriting was the same! In the box was a "bagge of new golde." The shining coins were quickly counted. They amounted to exactly £550. The Council decided to invest it (together with a much larger sum out of the Southampton Hundred Society's purse) in the Iron Works some miles up the river from the College land, for the benefit of the College endowment fund, and it was hoped that "Mr. Dust and Ashes" would finally receive satisfaction. The College lands included rich low grounds on both sides of James River. At the Company's meeting May 28, 1619, it decided to send out farm labourers to cultivate these lands on shares—the labourer to have half profits from the tobacco and grain produced and the other half to go to the College endowment. At the June 14 meeting, Sir Edwin Sandys moved the appointment of "a Committee of Choice Gentlemen" to look after the affairs of the College—"being a weighty business and so greate that an Account of their proceedings therein must be given to the State." The committee decided to send over a minister for the College with a yearly allowance of £40 and a grant of fifty acres of land for him and his heirs forever. And that a captain be sent to take charge of the people to be planted on the College land. In addition to farm hands there were to be "Smiths, Carpenters, bricklayers, potters, husbandmen, brick-masons—most of them young unmarried men—" to prepare building materials.

At the "sitting downe" of the July Court of the Company in London, a letter from another "unknowne person" was handed to Sir Edwin. At the top of the closely written page was a Maltese Cross with, under it, the letters I. H. S. The



Ed. Southampton

THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON

Shakespeare's friend and patron, head of the Virginia Company of London
and one of the real makers of Virginia

letter began: "Good luck in the name of the Lord who is magnified by the experiment of your zeale and Pity in givinge begininge to the foundacion of the Colledge in Virginia." Continuing, the writer begged the Company to accept as "a pledge of his devotion" to the "sacred worke, a Communion Cupp with the Cover and case. A Trencher plate for the Bread, a Carpett of Crimson Velvett, a linnen Damaske tablecloth and Fower greate books." In August, 1619, the Company in London sent over fifty men to begin work on the Colledge lands. On November 17, Sandys made three propositions to the Company: First, that the tenants for the public lands in Virginia might be increased in the spring—one hundred more to be sent for the Governor's land, a hundred for the Colledge land and that "divers staid persons of good conditions be sent amongst them." Second, "For their ease and commodiousness, that one hundred young persons be sent to be their apprentices." Third, to "send a hundred young maids to become wives; that children and families might make them less moveable and settle them together with their posteritie in that soile."

In the far corners of the earth thought was being taken of Virginia's educational needs. In 1618 Sir Thomas Dale had been sent out to India as an officer of the East Indian Company. He died there in August, 1619, but had fired with enthusiasm for Virginia. Rev. Patrick Copeland, Chaplain on the *Royal James*, a ship of Dale's fleet. At the Cape of Good Hope, on the return trip of the ship to England, Parson Copeland collected from the gentlemen and sailors aboard ship £70.8.6. for building a church or school in Virginia, and wrote letters of appeal to agents of the East India Company, in India. The ship arrived in London late in 1621 with the money collected to which an anonymous gift of £30 was added. Mr. Copeland's letters brought in £400 more. As there were "churches in Virginia, but no school," it was decided to use the money to erect a "publique free schoole, for the education of children and grounding of them in the principles of religion, civility of life and humane learning." It was to be called the East India School and to be in the borough of

Charles City (the present City Point) a few miles below Henricopolis, the site of the projected college and university. Mr. Copeland was granted 300 acres of land in Virginia and made a "free brother" of the Virginia Company in whose meetings he at once began to take active part. On Nov. 21, 1621, the money raised by him and the £30 given by an "unknown person" was brought into meeting "and laid upon the table." At the December meeting the Company decided to allow for the maintenance of "a schoolmaster and his usher to be placed in the East India School, 1000 acres of land and five persons besides an overseer of them to be sent forth-with . . . to measure and cultivate said lands . . . intended for this as a Collegiate Schoole."

At the meeting of January 30, 1622, "a stranger stepped in, bringing four other great books for the college in Virginia—"a large Church Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, a Catechism and a smale Bible richly embroydered." At this meeting, too, a letter was presented "from one that desired not as yet to be named with £25 in gold for the free school in Virginia." At the February Quarter Court was announced an anonymous gift of £25 in gold "to helpe forward the East India Schoole"; and "the gentlemen and mariners that lately came home from the East Indies in the two ships called the *Hart* and the *Roe-Bucke* . . . gave towards the building of the aforesaid Free-Schoole in Virginia the Summe of £66.13.4." At this (February) Court it was announced that in addition to the money already given "divers persons had subscribed a good sum which was like Daylie to increase by reason of men's affecious to forward so good a worke." On March 13, 1622, the Company decided to send Mr. Dike as usher in the Free School and upon a certificate from the Governor of Virginia of his "sufficiency and diligence in framinge up of Youth comitted to his charge" he was to be promoted to the place of master of the school. A committee from the Company was appointed to confer with Mr. Dike about the method of teaching he would use and the Company promised him books for his own use and "good store of books" for the children, and gave him a contract for five

years; but before his sailing date he resigned to accept a position in England. On July 3, 1622, the Company appointed Mr. Copeland Rector of the "intended College in Virginia for the conversion of the Infidels to have pastoral charge of the College Tenants about him." He was to have a tenth of the profits of the college lands and a parsonage and was appointed a member of the Council of State in Virginia.

During this time when broad educational plans for the colony were receiving enthusiastic interest in England and in Virginia, the Company in London continued its endeavours to diversify Virginia's products. As the early "trials" of silk-making had failed, the King sent superior silkworms from his own estates. Skilled vinedressers, or "vignerons" were procured from France and Italy to teach the colonists grape-culture and wine making. Poles, or "Polonians" were sent to make ship stores—tar, pitch and turpentine—and skilled rope makers to make and teach them to make cordage, so necessary in those times of dependence on sailing vessels. Dutchmen were sent to build saw mills and corn mills, and renewed efforts to produce salt were made. The chief interest was the iron works at Falling Creek, a few miles above the college lands and below the present Richmond. We now know that, even if the Indians had not destroyed the first iron furnace in America the "bog ore," along the banks of the creek would have been exhausted before many years. Today, for several miles along Falling Creek are the shallow pits from which this ore was taken. It was from this place that John Smith sent specimens of iron ore to England in his time and Lord Delaware had prospectors working along Falling Creek in 1610, but they were murdered by Indians. In 1619 the Company in London, realizing the colony's need of iron for many purposes, sent "150 iron workers with all materials for setting up three iron works." In March of that year a "Mr. King" was sent with fifty more persons to "set up an iron work." Sandys announced that three or four iron works had been erected in Virginia, at cost to the Company of £4000, and that there was no better iron in the world. It was in the spring of 1620 that the £550, given by "Dust and

Ashes'' to the Company for the College was invested for the benefit of the endowment fund in iron works, under charge of Captain Bluet and his company of "eighty able, very efficient workmen, with all manner of provisions for setting up an iron work." The death of Captain Bluet soon after his coming was "a great setting back to the enterprise," but a fresh supply was sent over to carry on the work.

John Berkeley, formerly of Beverstone Castle, in Gloucestershire, in the iron district of England, was, with his son Maurice, in charge of the Falling Creek Iron Works. George Sandys, the poet, wrote from Virginia to his brother, Sir Edwin, that "Nature seemed to have fitted the place for the work." He gave, also, "very hopeful accounts of all the new works undertaken" in the colony.

John Berkeley, formerly of Beverstone Castle, in Gloucestershire, March, 1622. Letters of advice from the Company late in the fall of that year ordered that the Iron Works be placed under the management of Mr. Maurice Berkeley. A letter from the Governor and Council of Virginia, written by George Sandys, replied: Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Southerne regard it as impossible to proceed with the Iron Works. In September, 1623, nine men were sent to make bar iron by a "Bloomery"—to be assisted by persons who were to have shares, or by the Company's tenants.

The activity and progress in the colony is amazing, in view of the dreadful degree of illness and death. In January, 1620, Governor Yeardley wrote of the "great mortalitie which hath been in Virginia, about 300 of ye inhabitants having dyed this year."

CHAPTER XVI

THE MASSACRE

THE three years for which George Yeardley had been chosen Governor were nearing a close. He had served Virginia well and now the Company answered his prayer for relief from office. Sir Francis Wyatt "a gentleman well reputed of both in respect of his parentage, good education, integritie of life and faire fortunes," was elected to succeed him. Yeardley remained in the colony, serving as member of the Council, until May, 1626, when, for the third time he became Governor, in which office he died, in 1627. He left his wife and three children (born at Jamestown) a good estate in Virginia, where the children married into leading families. His descendants are now scattered over the United States.

Sir Francis Wyatt had been educated at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford and Gray's Inn. He came from a distinguished Kentish family to which belonged the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt, and was related to many persons prominent in the settlement of Virginia. He brought with him in the ship *George* of his stately fleet of nine ships, Lady Wyatt (a niece of Sir Edwin Sandys) his brother Rev. Hawte Wyatt, of Queen's College, Oxford, and Gray's Inn—new minister for Jamestown, who has many descendants in Virginia. As Treasurer, came Lady Wyatt's uncle, George Sandys, the poet, brother of Sir Edwin, pronounced by Dryden, "the best versifier of his age." This maker of the earliest English poetry in America was author of a well known metrical version of the Psalms. While living at Jamestown he made, to quote his own words, "by the imperfect light which was snatched from the hours of night and repose," his translation of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," and the "First Book of Virgil's *Æneid*." As Secretary of State to succeed Pory came Christopher Division, son of Queen Elizabeth's unfortunate Secretary, and as "surveyor, sent to survey the planters' lands and make a map of the country," Captain William Claiborne, who served the colony well

during the rest of his long life. Came also Dr. John Pott, Master of Arts, to succeed Dr. Bohun (killed at sea) as physician to tenants of the Company's land and as general practitioner.

In addition to these choice spirits, there arrived in Wyatt's fleet, late in the summer of 1621, near seven hundred people, "all safely and in good health." Only one died on the voyage, "in whose room was another born at sea." The new Governor found "the cotton plants from the West Indies," cotton wool seeds from the Mogul's country and indigo seed all doing well, but the settlers did not know how to cure the indigo. The salt works were being erected. A small ship arriving in December brought many new and valuable plants from the Somers Islands. Thomas Bargarve, deceased, preacher in Virginia, had bequeathed for the College library, books valued at 100 marks. The inhabitants of Virginia had subscribed £1500 for building an inn at Jamestown. Sixteen persons with provisions for themselves and equipment for their work had been sent from England to make beads for trade with the Indians and glass for other purposes. During the three years of Yeardley's administration forty-two ships with 3570 men and women with requisite provisions and a "store of cattle" had come in, but the provisions were not in as good condition as expected. "Master Gookin" came from Ireland with fifty men of his own and thirty passengers.

Wyatt was "published governor," on November 18, 1621. Among members of his Council, in addition to the gentlemen mentioned, were the "ancient inhabitants," Captains Francis West and Nathaniel Powell, Masters Ralph Hamor and John Rolfe. Also "Masters George Thorpe, deputy of the College, and John Berkeley of the Iron Works, Captain Roger Smith, who had served as an officer in Holland, and other men of worth."

Governor Wyatt brought with him the same liberal instructions—including provision for a General Assembly—which had been given to Yeardley and have been termed the great charter of liberties in Virginia. He also brought a list of special instructions arranged in thirty-five paragraphs which

illustrate the careful thought given by the Company in the mother country to the affairs of the exiles across seas. Early in 1622 local courts were established in the various hundreds and plantations, with appeal to the General Court at Jamestown.

In April, 1620, on the *London Merchant* (which carried some of the "Maids for wives") had sailed "that worthy religious gentleman Captain George Thorpe of His Majestie's Privy Chamber," a member of the Virginia Company's Council, and "its deputy for the College lands." In the August preceding, Thorpe, with Sir William Throckmorton, Richard Berkeley, and John Smith of Nibley, Esquires, had sent out thirty-five persons to settle the James River plantation which still bears the name of "Berkeley." Thorpe brought news of the death of Virginia's good friend Nicholas Ferrar, the elder, of the Company of London, and that he had bequeathed £300, for conversion of the Indians. Thorpe himself became a devoted friend of the Indians and "thought nothing too deare for them"—especially for Opechancanough, who claimed to believe that the peace between his people and the English which had followed the marriage of his niece, Pocahontas, with John Rolfe, was "concluded so firm as the sky should sooner fall than it dissolve." Opechancanough had, of course, lived in a wigwam, but Thorpe "built him a fair house after the English fashion" in which, says Captaine Smith, "he tooke such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he so admired as locking and unlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no device in the world comparable to it." Governor Wyatt wrote that he found at his coming that Opechancanough had the treaty of peace stamped in brass and fixed on one of his "noted oaks."

The colonists little dreamed that deep in their hearts their seeming friends—the Indians—were filled with hatred caused by fear that the English would rob them of their country. Can we wonder? Before the coming of the white man the red man reigned supreme in North America. The noble bays and rivers and the fish that swam in them, the "goodly" trees and the fowls that nested in them, the fruits of the earth and the

beasts that inhabited the forests were his. True, tribe disputed with tribe in warfare with bow and arrow and tomahawk. That was part of life, like fishing and hunting. But there were no supermen with "sticks that speak" and "great guns" dealing death and destruction, while their own bodies were protected with coats of mail and breastplates and helmets of steel. The "salvages" watched uneasily the increasing numbers of ships that brought these people—especially this last great fleet of nine ships. And the farmers, carpenters, and bricklayers, making gardens, building villages and forts, possessing, cultivating and fortifying the land which had been theirs. They listened to Master Thorpe and others who told them of the school and college that would soon be theirs—but fear clutched their hearts. What they wanted was not book learning but the old free life. Yet they held their peace and bided their time.

True the colonists had stopped wearing swords and only used their guns for hunting. Their houses were wide open to the Indians who were fed and lodged in them as hospitably as their fellow Englishmen. "This familiarity," reported Governor Wyatt, was "the more favoured by the settlers by reason of the great desire they had of affecting that great masterpiece of work," the conversion of the savages. Everything was done to assure the Indians of the love of the English. When fear was expressed of the mastiffs, brought over as protectors, Thorpe had some of the splendid dogs killed—greatly offending their masters. Wyatt and Thorpe were newcomers. They had received from the Company explicit instructions to be kind to the natives. The long years of peace following the marriage of Pocahontas had disarmed suspicion and made it impossible for imagination to conceive of such a plot as was hatching in the brain of Opechancanough. So great was the faith of the colonists in the sincere intention of the Indians to keep the peace that they let the red men borrow from them some of the boats which were used going up and down the river to give notice of the plot. At the fatal hour some of the colonists were in their homes, others in the fields, planting corn and tobacco, others making brick, sawing timber

or building houses, while the Indians looked on with apparent content.

On this scene of harmony and hopefulness in His Majesty's first colony, Virginia, fell the dread blow of the great massacre. It is believed that the plot could not have been instigated, planned and carried out by a mind less astute and less deeply steeped in cruelty and craftiness than that of Opechancanough. It was as thoroughly managed as if the natives had had telegraphic facilities and the secret was so completely kept that no suspicion entered the heart of a colonist. The Indians kept up their appearance of friendship till the moment when they had been ordered to strike. "Some of them were even sitting down at breakfast with our people at their tables" when at eight o'clock on that Good Friday morning of March, 1622, wherever they happened to be on either side of James River for a hundred and forty miles up and down, they rose up as one man and each began murdering the pale face "friends" that happened to be closest to him. Neither aged men and women nor young children were spared. Each uplifted tomahawk fell upon the victim nearest the hand that wielded it so suddenly that "few or none discerned the weapon that brought them to destruction." Purchas, quoting letters from Virginia, says that converted Indians saved the lives of some of the colonists. The Indians lived in small, widely scattered settlements, yet all received notice when to strike and directions as to what places they were to attack. By letters and from those who returned to England it was "certified that (besides Master George Thorpe) Master John Berkeley, Captain Nathaniel Powell and his wife, and Captain Maycocke—all gentlemen of birth, virtue, and industry, and of the Council there, suffered under this their cruelty and treason." That the slaughter had been universal, if God had not put it into the heart of Chanco, an Indian belonging to one Perry, to disclose it. Let Purchas tell "how Chanco, living in the house with one Pace was urged by another Indian, his brother (who came the night before and lay with him) to kill Pace (so commanded by their king as he declared) as he would kill Perry; telling further that by such an hour in

the morning a number would come from divers places to finish the execution, who failed not at the time." Chanco "rose out of his bed and revealed it to Pace, that used him as a son. And thus the rest of the colony (Jamestown and its neighbourhood) were warned and were saved. "Such was (God be thanked for it) the good fruit of an Indian converted to Christianity; for though three hundred more of ours died by many of these Pagen infidels, yet Thousands of ours were saved by the means of one of them alone which was made a Christian: blessed be God forever whose mercy endureth forever; blessed be God whose mercy is above his justice and farre above All his works; who wrought this deliverance whereby their soules escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the Fowler. Pace upon this discovery, securing his house before day, rowed over the river to James City (in that place near three miles in breadth) and gave notice thereof to the Governor, by which means they were prevented there and at such other plantations as was possible for timely intelligence to be given. For where they saw us standing upon our guard, at the sight of a piece [musket] they all ran away."

Toward evening Sir George Yeardley went in his ship up the river to Flowerdieu Hundred to give aid to those who might be wounded. A list of those massacred includes: "At Martins, 73, at Berkeley 11, at Edward Bennett's plantation (in the present Isle of Wight) 50, at Westover 2, at Maycox 5, on Appomattox River 4, at Flowerdieu Hundred, 6, at Weyanoke 21." The Corporation of Henrico and other settlements above the Appomattox were literally wiped out for the time. At Henricopolis the people were killed or driven away and their houses were burned. At Falling Creek the iron workers were killed and everything possible destroyed. Two children who hid in the bushes escaped. The residents of Bermuda City and at the settlements on the south side of the river down to Chippoak Creek near "Brandon," were nearly all killed. Various accounts give the numbers murdered as from 347 to 400. Colonists who held out against the assailants include Samuel Jordan, with the aid of a few refugees at "Begger's Bush" (now Jordan's Point), Edward Hill, at Elizabeth

City, and "Mrs. Proctor, a proper, civil, Modest gentlewoman," who defended herself and household till the colonial authorities ordered her and those with her to abandon her home and take refuge in one of the forts, or they would burn it themselves, as the Indians did when it was vacated. Daniel Gookin, at Newport News, declined to remove and with his thirty-five men, successfully defended his plantation. At the time of the massacre there were three or four ships in James River and one in the York, but there is no evidence that any of the colonists deserted the colony in them.

Wyatt and his Council stood by their guns and hopefully declared that "Almighty God (they doubt not) hath his great work to do in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honour and glory to his great Name and a more flourishing estate to themselves and the whole Plantation"—Virginia.

After the massacre the Virginia Company directed that various important settlements, including Charles City and Henrico, should be rebuilt as soon as possible, and that the brick makers who had been sent to Virginia for building the college and school should go on with their work, so that there would be ample material when there was opportunity to commerce the buildings. This is the last mention of the school or college in the records of the Virginia Company at London, which was nearing its own end.

CHAPTER XVII

WAR BETWEEN COLONISTS AND INDIANS, KING AND COMPANY

FOR a time after the massacre, panic prevailed, but English courage and tenacity soon reasserted themselves.

The Governor, Council, and other officers did their utmost to aid and protect the crushed and terrified people, and soon all of the colonists were gathered inside the fortified forts, namely, Jamestown and the plantations on the opposite side of the river, Shirley Hundred, Flower-de-Hundred, Kickoughtan and Southampton Hundred. The first thought of many colonists was to abandon James River and take refuge on the Eastern Shore, but the Governor and Council never considered such a thing. Again scarcity of food made the condition desperate and Sir Francis Wyatt applied himself with zeal reminiscent of that of Captain Smith to securing nourishment for his starving people. He commissioned several Virginia shipmasters to make cruises for obtaining food within and without the limits of the colony. They were to trade with the Indians peaceably if possible, but to take supplies by force if necessary.

News of the massacre was a depressing blow to the Virginia Company of London, already embarrassed by its vast expenditure without returns and by its struggle, now beginning, with the jealousy of the King; but with courage to match that of the colonists, the Company sent its answer across the sea that, "This Addition of Price had endeared the Purchase and that the Blood of those People would be the Seed of the Plantation." The massacre bred in both colonists and Company a lust for revenge for the murders committed by the Indians and the shocking mutilations of the bodies of their victims. The survivors now saw the red men as a horde of wild beasts. Gone was all hope of civilizing or Christianizing them. Moreover they concluded that a white man's nation and a red man's nation could not exist side by side and that Vir-

ginia's only safety lay in complete extermination of all hostile Indians. A war with this deliberate object set in. The King promised "such arms out of the Tower as was desired . . . whereby they might be enabled to take revenge on those treacherous Indians," and on August 20, 1622 the Master of the Armoury was ordered to deliver to the Company, for the colony, 100 brigantines, 40 plate coats, 400 shirts and coats of mail, 200 skulls of iron, 1000 halberds and "brown bills" and 50 murdering pieces, besides pistols, daggers, etc." Also forty barrels of gunpowder, some of which was captured by the Indians and ordered by Opechancanough to be sown, "expecting a large crop of it in the summer." John Paulett (then Lord St. John of Basing and later Marquis of Winchester), sent the colonists fifty coats of mail. A brown bill was a combined sword and battle axe. The armour, arms, and gunpowder arrived at Jamestown about Christmas following the massacre, in the ship *Abigail*, in which Lady Wyatt was a passenger.

So in this war for survival of the fittest the colonists had the advantage of firearms and the advantage and disadvantage of heavy armour which, while resisting Indian arrows, made following the enemy difficult. The woods and nimbleness of the Indians' heels gave them the advantage of "ambushes and sudden incursions." In the year after the massacre Governor Wyatt and his Council reported to the Company that "neither fair war nor fair quarter" could be held with the Indians. They thought it "better to have no heathen among us, who at best are but thornes in our sides, than to be at peace and league with them." Raiding parties were sent against various tribes. George Sandys fell upon the Tappahannocks (across the river from Jamestown), Sir George Yeardley upon the Weyanokes, Captain William Powell upon the Chickahominies, and Captain John West upon the Taux Powhatans near the site upon which Richmond was to rise in course of time. Not many of the "nimble" Indians were killed, but their houses and fish weirs were destroyed, their corn was taken or burned. A midsummer campaign against all the neighbouring Indian tribes was adopted and carried on

summer after summer for nearly a decade. Its object was to fight an enemy whose "nimble heels" made him difficult to close with, by destroying his food supply at a time of year too late for making another crop.

On September 10, 1622, Governor Wyatt gave to Sir George Yeardley a commission to attack the Indians anywhere in Virginia.

In addition to the colonists murdered in the massacre many of them had been captured. Early in 1623 Opechancanough sent the colony's deliverer, Chanco, with Comahan (who had been active in the massacre) to Martin's Hundred to tell the English that enough blood had been shed on both sides and that many of his people had starved and to ask that he be allowed to plant corn. Comahan was detained and put in irons but Chanco was sent back to tell the Indian king that if he would return his captives he might set his corn in peace. Chanco was only granted the release of Mrs. Boys "the chief of the prisoners"—wife of a prominent colonist—who was returned "appareled like one of the Indian Queens."

Some of the methods resorted to in seeking restoration of the prisoners make the chronicler of 1928 ashamed to tell the truth. In June 1623, Captain William Tucker, with twelve well armed men, went in a shallop to Opechancanough's seat at Pamunkey, under pretence of trading and treating for peace with the Indians there. The braves swarmed to the shore and the English demanded return of the prisoners. These were sent for, but as soon as they were placed on board a signal was given, the English fired their muskets and killed about forty of the Indians.

In the midsummer of 1623 Captain Isaac Madison, with thirty men, was sent to the Potomac to join with Japazaws in forming an alliance against Opechancanough. Being told by the chief of another tribe that the Potomacs were planning to betray him, he captured Japazaws and some of his chiefs and raided the Potomac towns, killing forty people. Madison was deservedly censured and Japazaws was released by Governor Wyatt. The Indians were revenged in the following spring when Captain Henry Spelman, with twenty-six men

were attacked and killed on the banks of the Potomac. In the fall Sir George Yeardley led three hundred of the best soldiers in Virginia against the Nansemonds and Warrosquoianes. The Indians burned their own houses and fled, but the colonists destroyed or captured their corn. Yeardley proceeded up the Pamunkey (present York) river where also, the Indians escaped, leaving their corn at the disposal of their enemies. Sir George carried off 1000 bushels and it is written that during this fall the colonists captured or secured in trade 3000 bushels more—reducing the natives to great distress. Many illustrations of this war of revenge could be given but a few are enough. In the words of George Sandys: “With our small and sicklie forces we have discomforted the Indians round about us, burnt their houses, gathered their corn and slain not a few; though they are as swift as Roebucks. Like the violent lightening, they are gone as soon as perceived, and not to be destroyed but by surprise or famine.”

Year after year, year after year the midsummer warfare went on. How the colonists managed to keep it up despite the diseases raging among them and their work in fields and homes, is amazing. In the midsummer of 1624 Governor Wyatt personally leading a force of sixty men, twenty-four of whom were employed in cutting down corn, gained a sweeping victory over Otiatio (one of the brothers of Powhatan and Opechancanough) commanding the Pamunkey Indians, and their confederates. Eight hundred Pamunkey bowmen were engaged, besides their allies, but it was estimated that the colonists destroyed enough corn to feed four thousand men for a year. And so it went.

Meantime, while red men and white men were bleeding in physical conflict in Virginia, England was the scene of a war of diplomacy between the King and the Virginia Company. The weak and narrow James was bitterly jealous of the great and broad-minded Sir Edwin Sandys. At the time of the election when Sandys had succeeded Sir Thomas Smith as Treasurer and head of the Company, James exclaimed: “Choose the Devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys.” As

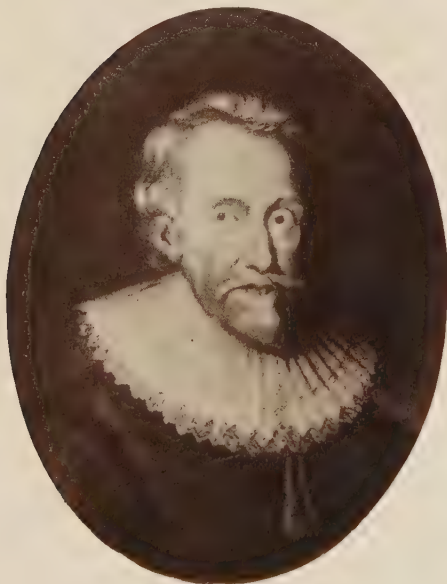
time went on his Majesty's hostility to the liberal administration which turned the Company into what its enemies named a "Seminary of sedition" increased, until both Sandys and the Earl of Southampton were shut up in their own homes to prevent their attending the Company's meetings.

In November following the massacre, Captain Nathaniel Butler had to leave Bermuda because of his misgovernment of those islands. He took refuge in Virginia and spent several weeks there. On his return to England he wrote a pamphlet entitled: "The Unmasked Face of Virginia," severely criticizing the liberal Southampton-Sandys-Ferrar government of the Company. "Alderman" Johnson's flattering "Declaration of the State of the Company during the twelve years of Sir Thomas Smyth's Government" was an indirect attack on the same administration and both pamphlets were highly gratifying to the King. The Virginia General Assembly of February 1623 prepared and sent to England elaborate and indignant replies to the damaging papers of Butler and Johnson and expressed staunch loyalty to the new administration. In a letter defending the colony Governor Wyatt says: "We were taxed by Captain Butler with disunion. He had least reason to urge it, for all are agreed in distaste of him." Butler was in Virginia the winter following the massacre. Farms had been abandoned, houses burned and cattle killed by the Indians. Mortality due to undernourishment and crowding of people in small forts was high. Butler exaggerated bad conditions, and falsely declared that the Sandys-Southampton administration of the Company was to blame.

According to Wyatt's letter, women resisted the colony's diseases better than men, "either that their work lies chiefly within doors or because they are of a colder temper." He says, "There are nowhere better stomachs or sounder sleepers. . . . But certaine it is newcomers seldome passe July and August without a burning fever, which through intemperate drinking of water often drawes after it the fluxe or dropsy and where many are sick together is infections. . . . If newcomers retained their health the plantation were gained." Hear Sir Francis on the subject of prohibition: "To plant a



NICHOLAS FERRAR .



SIR EDWIN SANDYS
Second Treasurer of the Colony

colony for water drinkers was an inexcusable error in those who laid the foundation and have made it a received custom, which until it be laid down again, there is small hope of health." Yet on June 21, 1622, he and the Assembly had issued a "Proclamation against Drunkenness" ordering penalties, from five pounds sterling to a whipping, according to the rank of the sinner. "And that this edict may be more truly and faithfully observed than others of like nature have been heretofore, we do ordain an Officer for that purpose to be sworn in every Plantation to give information of all such as shall be so disordered." The first prohibition officer in America!

The Assembly of 1623 was the earliest after the massacre and the last under the Company, then tottering to its fall. Its first act provided: "That there shall be in every plantation where the people use to meet for the worship of God, a house or room sequestered for that purpose and not to be for any temporal use whatsoever, and a place sequestered only to the burial of the dead." Another Act set aside the March 22 (anniversary of the massacre) to be "yearly solemnized as holiday" to give thanks for the deliverance of the colony. Commemoration of this day was ordered by Act of Assembly in every year that it met during a long period. The independent spirit of the colonists is shown by another act: "That the Governor shall not lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities other way than by the authority of the General Assembly, to be levied and employed as the said Assembly shall appoint." This was the first Virginia declaration against "taxation without representation."

The ship *Abigail* which brought the armour to Jamestown, also brought "a pestilent fever . . . never before known in Virginia." Many of the *Abigail's* passengers died at sea—supposed to be poisoned by bad beer which was also believed to have started the infection that "raged in Virginia for months." It seems certain that over thirteen hundred persons died en route, were killed (by Indians) or died in Virginia between 1622 and 1623. What the "pestilent fever" was re-

mains a mystery, but it is said to have been so fatal that in some cases mortification set in before death. On July 14, at the Virginia Company's meeting, "Mr. Deputy Ferrar presented two rolls of subscriptions for relief of the suffering colony, one totalling £1800 and the other £717. They finally totalled £3300—about \$16,500. On August 2, Lord Cavendish reported to the Privy Council that the subscription rolls had been complied with and some of the provisions purchased already sent by the ships *Truelove* and *Hopewell* (auspicious names!) the rest to be sent at once by other ships. The ship *Seaflower* also left England with supplies for Virginia. From early spring till midsummer the people gazed over the waters for a welcome sight of her sails, but she had been accidentally destroyed by fire at Bermuda. Hopes of her arrival were expressed in many letters home.

How the ordinary current of life runs on in spite of accidents and interruptions of every description! Lovemaking is one of this world's businesses which neither wars nor fires, floods nor famine have power to check. Captain Samuel Jordan of "Jordan's Journey," a member of the historic Assembly of 1619, died about a year after the massacre. A few days later the Rev. Grevell Pooley, minister of the plantation, asked Captain Isaac Madison to propose marriage with him to the widow. Madison agreed and the coy Cicily told him she would "as willingly have Mr. Pooley as any other," but she was not yet ready to marry any man. Pooley was enough encouraged to go a-courting in his own behalf and soon told Madison that he had "contracted" himself to the lady but wanted Madison to go to see her with him, to witness it. Arrived at the house the parson "desired a dram. Mrs. Jordan desired her servant to fetch it, but Pooley said he would have it of her fetching or not at all." She went into the next room (evidently to "fetch" the dram), Pooley and Madison following her. "The minister approaching her spake these words: 'I Grevell Pooley take thee Sysley, to my wedded wife, to have and to hold till death us do part, and thereto I plight thee my troth.' Then (holding her by the hand) *he* spake these words: 'I Sysley, take thee Grevell to be my

wedded husband to have and to hold till death us do part.' But Madison heard her not say any of those words nor that Mr. Pooley asked her whether she did consent to those words. Then Mr. Pooley and she dranke each to the other and he kissed her and spake these words: 'I am thine and thou art mine till death us separate.' Mrs. Jordan then desired it might not be revealed that she did so soon bestow her love after her husband's death, whereupon Mr. Pooley protested before God that he would not reveal it till she thought the time fitting." He was so elated, however, that he could not keep the secret. Mrs. Jordan heard of his bragging about it and engaged herself to Mr. William Farrar, a member of the Council. On June 14, 1623, the parson called her into Court and brought against her the first suit for breach of promise of record in America. The Governor and Council were unable to decide it and continued it until November 27. Mrs. Madison and her servant, called as witnesses, testified that they had not heard the "contracting" but had heard Mrs. Jordan say "Mr. Pooley might have fared better if he had talked less." The Council referred the case to the Company in England "desiring the resolution of the Civil Lawyers thereon and a speedy return thereof." The Jamestown Court proclaimed that a third offence of this kind should be punished by corporal punishment or fine, "according to the guilt of the person so offending." Finally, the parson resigned all claim to the widow, who "contracted herself before the Governor and Council to William Farrar and disowned her former contract." Erelong, she married Mr. Farrar and the name of their descendants (scattered through many states) is legion.

Virginia had not only the *first* breach of promise suit but the *second*. A court held at Jamestown the following June, ordered that "the next Sabbath day in the tyme of divine service Elinor Sprage shall publickly before the Congregation, Acknowledge offence in contractinge her selfe to two severall men at one tyme and penetently Confessinge her falte ask God and the Congregation's forgiveness."

According to a letter from the Governor, Council and Assembly to the King in February 1623, a subscription was

raised and workmen hired to build a fair inn at Jamestown, when the massacre forced them to give it up. "Buildings have everywhere increased. The greatest hospitality is shown newcomers. There is no fortification against a foreign enemy, but their homes are now strongly fortified, against the Indians. James City, Flowerdieu Hundred, Newport News, Charles City and divers private plantations are mounted with cannon." In September 1623, George Sandys wrote to John Ferrer. "The planters are busy rebuilding and repairing their grounds."

Notwithstanding these hopeful reports James avowed his intention of revoking the Company's charter and by taking over the government of Virginia himself, converting it into a royal colony. The hostility to the Virginia Company of Count Gondomar, Spanish Ambassador to England, strongly influenced the King against it, for Gondomar had become all powerful at the Court of James. At the same time both houses of Parliament were clamoring for war with England's old enemy, Spain. They also clamored for a protestant bride for Charles, Prince of Wales, while James was so enamoured of the idea of marrying his son and heir to a daughter of Philip that he seemed willing to grant any demand of Spain in order to bring it about. Charles himself shared his father's whim and accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, made a fool of himself by leaving England in disguise and going to the Spanish Court to sue for the hand of the Infanta. His failure to win her brought joy to both England and Virginia.

As part of his plan to break up the Company, James appointed and sent over John Pory and John Harvey, to act with Abraham Piersey and Samuel Matthews who were in Virginia, and John Jefferson (who seems to have taken no part in the business), as commissioners to investigate conditions in the colony and aid him in finding excuse for revoking the Company's Charter. The Assembly, ignoring the commissioners, sent a letter of protest to the King and his Privy Council in which they humbly entreated continuance of government by General Assembly. The commissioners went from plantation to plantation seeking the information ordered by

the King and his Council. The Virginia Council and Assembly refused them copies of papers sent to England but they bribed Edward Sharpless, acting Secretary, to give them copies. The Virginia General Court convicted Sharpless of this violation of his oath of office, sentencing him to stand in the pillory, to have his ears nailed to it and then cut off. Barbarous as this sentence was it was a not infrequent one in England in those good old times. Sharpless lost only part of one ear, but the King was "highlie insensed." The orders from his Privy Council delivered by the commissioners made no mention of the Assembly or House of Burgesses which had become dear to the hearts of the Virginians. Their letter to the Privy Council prays that the governors sent over "may not have absolute authority" and closes with: "But above all we humbly intreat your Lordships that we may retaine the libertie of our Generall Assemblies." The Virginians also declared: "Wee conceive his Majesties intention of changing the government hath proceeded from much misinformation." James was determined to revoke the Company's charter. The Company had refused to surrender it voluntarily and the English Attorney General prepared a *quo warranto* demanding by what authority they claimed to be a company and to enjoy their rights and privileges. On May 4, 1624 the Company carried its grievances to the House of Commons in a petition that had been endorsed by its court, read by "Mr. Deputy Ferrar"—Deputy Governor—because of the confinement to their own homes of both Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton. On May 9, the Speaker of the House read a letter from the King advising the members not to trouble themselves with this petition as the Virginia troubles "would be settled by him and his Privy Council."

On June 17 "Mr. Deputy Ferrar" informed the Company that although the general business of its petition had not "proceeded in Parliament, yet the particular of tobacco, by the exceeding great care and wisdom of Sir Edwin Sandys, assisted by Lord Cavendish and other worthy members of the Company had a very happy issue."

Virginia's prosperity, nay its very life, depended upon the

price of tobacco. Notwithstanding the "trials" of various products the novel weed that had charmed Sir Walter Raleigh was, so far, the colony's only product that paid. Tobacco was Virginia's money. Its purchasing power was as important to the colonists as is the purchasing power of the dollar to Americans today. The small amount of comfort in food, clothing, furniture or what not that could be brought in the ships from "home" in exchange for so many pounds or so many hogsheads of tobacco was a matter of acute anxiety and a never ending topic of depressing talk. A contract with the English government fixing the price and conditions of export of tobacco favourably to the colony was an absolute necessity. This was more difficult to secure because tobacco was generally believed to be an evil weed. The King disapproved its use, and many writers proclaimed its danger to health and morals. After years of wrangling between Crown and Company a petition of the Virginia and Bermuda Companies of London for a monopoly of importing tobacco from the colonies they represented into England (with the exception of 40,000 pounds of Spanish tobacco annually), was granted on April 28, 1623. In return for this monopoly, the two colonies agreed to ship all of their tobacco to the mother country. For this tremendously advantageous contract Governor Wyatt and his Council thanked the King handsomely. On January 30, 1624, the Governor and Assembly again expressed appreciation to His Majesty for the monopoly and for reduction in the duties, at the same time declaring that the fruits of their labour hardly gave them the necessities of life and begging that the duties be reduced to five per cent of the value of their tobacco. The end of the Virginia Company's existence a few months later put an end to the contract and James instructed his Solicitor General to make an agreement with the members of the two Companies "for all their tobacco to be delivered for the King's use, on which His Majesty will declare his pleasure concerning that of other countries." This order was fraught with danger to the two companies, for it suggested competition of their tobacco with the superior Spanish product—a menace which disappeared

when, in September, 1624, the King issued a proclamation giving Virginia and Bermuda the sole right of importing tobacco into England and Ireland and forbidding the planting of tobacco in the mother country. All the tobacco had to be transported to London, where it was branded and sealed before being offered for sale. So far so good. But certain merchants appointed for this task were ordered to "receive the Tobacco of those Collonyes at and for such prices as we have agreed to give for the same," paying to the King such tax or rental "as may give US reasonable Satisfaction." This contract was proclaimed March 2, 1625, and despite the ruling out of foreign tobacco was received with great disfavour and declared by Governor Wyatt and his Council to be "the greatest blow the colony has ever received."

Owing to the opposition and to the death of James in 1625, the contract was not carried out. Charles I issued proclamation after proclamation in regard to tobacco trade and sought to arrange a workable contract, but without success. "Many and unspeakable," declared the Virginia burgesses, are "the miseries of a contract." The new King made proclamation after proclamation for curtailing of the tobacco crop and production of other staple commodities. In one of these he declared: "The immoderate use of a vain and needless weed is continued, the health of our subjects is much impaired & their manners in danger to be depraved."

The contest over tobacco outlived the Company.

On June 26, 1624, the *quo warranto* had come up in the Court of the King's Bench "by which the Virginia Patent was overthrown." The Company employed the best lawyers it could get to plead its cause and "some good number of unknown persons" gave money, plate and jewels to assist in defending the Company's "right and interest" but it was decided that the charter of the "Company of English merchants trading to Virginia and pretending to exercise a power and authority over His Majesty's good subjects there should be thenceforth null and void."

James now took management of the colony into his own hands. He continued Sir Francis Wyatt as Governor, but

appointed a commission to plan a new form of government. The colonists were alarmed lest the influence of Sir Thomas Smith prevail under the new régime. There can be little doubt of this and that James would have withdrawn the right of legislation by the people, but his death in September, 1625, and that of Smith soon after, with the increasing political and religious troubles in England, prevented the dreaded changes. Appointment by the Crown of governors and councillors continued, but Charles I recognized the House of Burgesses, elected by the people, and the rights of self-government and especially of self-taxation were not seriously disturbed for many years. "Rather than to be reduced to live under like government," (namely, that of Smith) declared the colonists in "words full of passion and griefe," in concluding a long document known as "The Discourse of the Old Company," addressed to the Privy Council of Charles I, "wee desire His Majestie that Commissioners may be sent over with authoritie to hang us."

During the spring of 1624 five ships had arrived in Virginia each bringing food and other supplies for the colonists or for trade. In one of these ships, the *Marmaduke*, John Harrison sent his brother George Harrison, four men servants and £100 worth of goods, including foodstuffs, spices, tools, fire-arms, clothing, and books. Mr. Harrison was ill, but desire to see his goods gave him strength to go to Jamestown. There "words of discontent" passed between him and Richard Stephens, merchant (later a councillor), with "some blows." Harrison challenged Stephens and, in the first duel in Virginia, which followed, he received a sword cut in the leg "which did somewhat grieve him." Two weeks later he died. There was an inquest and an autopsy. "The doctor and chirurgions did affirm that he could not have lived long and that he dyed not of the hurt . . . for it was but a small cut between the garter and the knee."

It is written of the fall of 1624, that "God sent" Virginia "plentifull harvest of corne and the industrious were well stored with other provisions so great that, excepting in the number of men, the colony hath worne out the scars of the

Massacre." Grants from 1622 to 1632 show new settlements from the neighbourhood of Jamestown to Kickoughtan and on the Eastern Shore. The country above Charles City was still regarded as too dangerous for settlement. In 1628 John Laydon, husband of Ann Burras, was granted a tract of land far down on James River, in place of one at Henricopolis he had owned before, "now resigned in regard of the great danger in seating there." Land grants for the two years following the massacre show that several new houses on Jamestown Island were outside of the fort, but the law required that "no man go abroad unless well armed; that all working parties should have armed sentinels and that due watch be kept at night." A list of persons living in Virginia in 1624 gives "1275, including 22 negroes." The population then extended from the College land where twenty-nine were living to the Neck of Land (nearby) with forty-one, down to Elizabeth City and across Chesapeake Bay to the Eastern Shore. This shows that the people were beginning to go back to the plantations above Jamestown. In 1629, Captain Pierce, an "ancient inhabitant" and man of prominence in the colony, reported that there were between four and five thousand English in Virginia, "generally well housed."

In a letter, May 17, 1626, to the English Privy Council, Governor Wyatt and the Virginia Council said that the best means for improving conditions in the colony would be to build a palisade with forts scattered along it at intervals, from Martin's Hundred to Kiskyacke—that is from the James to York River, a little east of the present Williamsburg. Within this palisade the people should be settled on small plantations where they and their stock would be free from danger of attack by Indians. Forts should be built at the mouths of the two rivers for protection from foreign attack. This suggestion was not carried out at the time, but was a few years later. An old map still shows the line of the palisade. When Commissioner Pory returned to England in May 1624 he had taken a letter from Commissioner Harvey, mentioning "great want of ammunition and divers solitary plantations too slenderly peopled to avoid the vigilancy of so subtile an enemy."

Whereby it is to be feared that in summer when the corn and weeds are growne high there will be much mischief done, as the attempts of the Indians in these two months of March and April do shrewdly prognosticate."

The year 1626 saw the end of Sir Francis Wyatt's efficient service as Governor of the colony. News of his father's death took him home. In a few sincere words, William Capps, an old planter, who knew and loved Wyatt, has left us his portrait: "The old smoker, so good, so carefully mild, religious, just honest, that I protest I think God hath sent him in mercy for good to us!" A picturesque limb of Governor Wyatt's family tree was Dorothea Scott (grand-daughter of the Governor's aunt), who late in life emigrated to New York. The Queen of Bohemia wrote of her in a gossipy letter to Wyatt's brother-in-law: "As for the Countess, I can tell you heavie news of her, for she is turned Quaker and preaches every day in a tubb. Your nephew George (Wyatt) can tell you of her quaking, but her tubb preaching is come since you went, I believe." The beloved Sir George Yeardley was Governor again, but died within a year, and the Council appointed Francis West, younger brother of Lord Delaware, to succeed him. The "Knight's Tomb," discovered by excavation of the original chancel of Jamestown Church, is believed to be that of Yeardley, though the brass inscription plate was destroyed when the Church was burned in 1676.

Colonial Virginia manners are reflected in a proclamation, of West's administration, forbidding "spending powder at meetings, drinkings, marriages, and entertainments, because a war is expected with the Indians next summer, as it happened last summer." Such proclamations were frequent. In this spring of 1628 the English ship *Fortune* captured a slave ship from the coast of Angola, Africa, "with many negroes which the captain bartered in Virginia for tobacco." The tobacco was sent "home," to England in the ship *Plantation*. In October, 1629, the convivial Dr. John Pott a "Master of Arts, well practised in Chirurgerie and Physique," was elected Governor (to succeed West, who had returned to England), with four Councillors and forty-six burgesses, re-

turned from twenty-three plantations. Less than a year later Captain John Harvey, whom we have met as Commissioner and who, as a naval officer, had seen hard service, was knighted and commissioned Governor of Virginia. He reported his arrival in the colony to Lord Dorchester, English Secretary of State, and said: "the great sickness prevented me from calling an Assembly till the week before Easter." On May 22, he wrote Dorchester of having "received many complaints against Ex-governor Pott and have confined him to his plantation 'Harrop.'" On May 16, he wrote that the Council had tried Pott, found him guilty of pardoning a murderer and of cattle-stealing and his estate had been forfeited. Harvey asked that Pott be pardoned and his estate restored, as he was "the only physician in the Colony skilled in epidemical diseases." Mrs. Elizabeth Pott made a long, dangerous voyage to England to sue for her husband's pardon, which King Charles granted on recommendation of Commissioners to whom the case was referred, and who declared that his sentence was harsh "if not erroneous."

In March 1631 Harvey commissioned Nathaniel Basse to go to "New England, Nova Scotia, or ye West Indies and invite the inhabitants to Virginia if any so inclined, especially if those of New England dislike the coldness of ye climate or barrenness of ye soil to offer them Delaware Bay." Whether or not any accepted the gift, this witness is not prepared to say.

Of the year 1632 it is written: "War with the Indians continues and a great drought in ye summer occasions a scarcity of corn, whereupon several have commissions to trade for corn." This is dated February 14. A substantial and acceptable kind of valentine! It is evident that the drought was short lived for in the fall the colony harvested from its own fields, five thousand bushels of corn.

CHAPTER XVIII

“THE THRUSTING OUT OF SIR JOHN HARVEY”

HERE we are at the sixteen-thirties. Now see “His Majesty’s First Colony” begin to come into its own. There are rocks ahead yet, but the Virginia curtain rises on a scene changed from a struggle with death at the hands of the Indian, Disease, or Famine, to at least a promise of ultimate happiness and prosperity. A few of the colonists have actually acquired what seems to the time and place to be wealth. Chief among these are Councillor Samuel Mathews and Madam Mathews—a daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton. Their plantation, at Blunt Point, above Newport News, resembles a village—with its commodious homestead and cottages for the many servants who carry on work of many kinds besides the cultivation of grain and tobacco. Flax and hemp are woven there, leather is tanned and made into shoes. There is a large dairy and an abundance of poultry, and cattle and hogs are raised not only for home use but for export. Planter Mathews is known to his fellow colonists as a man who “lives bravely, keeps a good house and is a true lover of Virginia.” Up the river, not far from Jamestown, is “Littleton,” plantation of the rich merchant, George Meniffee, also of the Council. His ships trade with remote countries. In his large garden grow fruits of Holland, roses of Provence, in his orchard, apple, pear, and cherry trees and in it the peach is cultivated for the first time in North America. Near the house, for the housewife’s convenience, flourish aromatic herbs—rosemary, thyme, and sweet marjoram. The home of Captain William Pierce (still another Councillor) is at Jamestown. His trees are chiefly mulberries, for silk culture is his hobby and he has a room especially prepared for silk worms said to be the “fairest for that purpose in Virginia.” Thrifty Madam Pierce specializes in figs and boasts that from her garden of three or four acres, a hundred bushels of them have been gathered in a year. At Assembly time much ship-

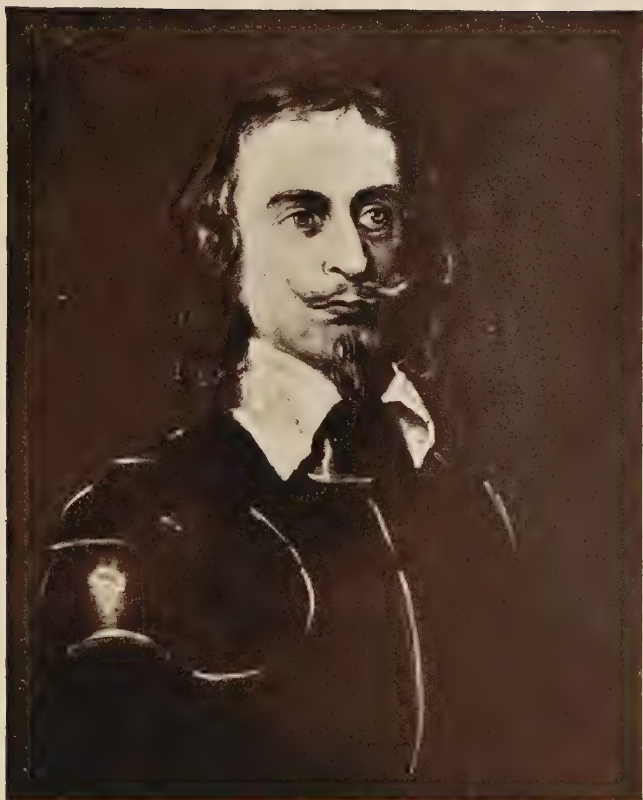
ping may be seen “riding,” in James River—tall vessels from overseas ports, fishing and oyster boats from the fruitful Chesapeake and sloops waiting to take the law-makers home when the Assembly adjourns. Near the church, where the session is held, a horse is tied under nearly every tree, in readiness to take its owner home over land. Governor Harvey struts about in the gold lace which the law allows gentlemen of rank to wear, and (in the pride of his newly acquired knighthood) lording it over the Councillors and insisting that their duty is merely to assist and advise him, for that all authority lies in himself as His Majesty’s substitute—an attitude which makes him exceedingly unpopular.

Virginia is now helping to feed New England. In 1631 friends of the Massachusetts Colony in London contracted with William Claiborne, Secretary of State of Virgiana, who was then in England, to carry forty tons of Indian corn from Virginia to Boston. Henry Fleet, the picturesque Indian trader (who had attracted attention in England several years before and from whom many Americans can trace descent today) made a cruise to New England in the ship *Warwick*. On his way, he secured in trade with Indians eight hundred bushels of corn which he sold in New England—at Piscataqua and Salem. Sailing from Boston for Virginia, Fleet was joined by Claiborne in another vessel. At an Indian village on Potomac Creek he found Samuel Maverick’s pinnace laden with corn which Maverick took to New England. Fleet remained to trade for beaver with the Anacostans (at the site of the present Washington City) and while absorbed in successful traffic, met a pinnace with Captain John Utie, of the Virginia Council, aboard. Utie arrested him by order of the Council for trading with the Indians without license and the *Warwick* had to sail for Jamestown. According to Fleet’s Journal: “The Governor, bearing himself like a noble gentleman, showed me much favour and used mee with unexpected courtesy. Captain Utye did acquaint the Council with the success of the voyage and every man seemed desirous to be a partner with me in these employments.” Fleet was soon given his liberty.

Voyages of trading vessels laden with provisions for a sister colony is the best indication of Virginia's growing ability to take care of herself. In 1634 Governor Harvey and his Council reported to the King's Privy Council, "Corn is so plentiful that though 1200 newcomers have arrived this year 5000 bushels have been exported for the relief of New England."

To glance backward a few years: On May 16, 1631 King Charles had commissioned his "trusty and well beloved William Clayborne . . . to trade for furs and corn in any region for which there is not already a patent granted to others for sole trade." Accordingly, Claiborne set up a trading post on Kent Island, far up in Chesapeake Bay, not far from the mouth of Patapsco River, and (with Nicholas Martian, a Huguenot emigrant, as partner) soon made the beginning of a prosperous plantation. The island was divided up into little farms which were stocked with cattle and on which dwelling-houses and grist mills were built, gardens and orchards planted. Martian's home was at Kiskyaacke—named for the fierce Kiskyaacke Indians who had moved across York River into Gloucester, since when Martian's tract had become York Plantation—site-to-be of storied Yorktown. Martian's daughter, Elizabeth, married George Reade, of the Virginia Council, a nephew of the English Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebanke, and an adherent of Governor Harvey. George Reade and Elizabeth, his wife, were ancestors of George Washington and of countless other Virginians, now scattered all over America.

In the fall of 1629, without warning the Virginia authorities of his proposed visit, Lord Baltimore with his whole family had arrived at Jamestown from New Foundland. He wished to settle in Virginia, but loyalty to the "Romishe" religion made it impossible for him to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance required of every newcomer to the colony which acknowledged the King of England as head of both Church and State. So Baltimore complied with the request required by law to depart by the first ship—leaving his family and servants behind for the time. The people gen-



WILLIAM CLAIBORNE
Secretary of State of Virginia

erally had treated him with the respect “due the honour of his person,” but Thomas Tindall called him a liar and threatened to knock him down—for which he was made to stand in the pillory for two hours.

Though Sir John Harvey was high in the King’s favour, he enjoyed little confidence or friendship in Virginia. His exploits on the ocean’s highways had caused gossip of piracy and to some of the planters his dealings with the colony seemed to smack of those of a pirate with a captured prize.

When the king granted the north parts of Virginia, including Kent Isle (already given to and settled by Virginians) to Lord Baltimore to make a colony for “Papists,” as the planters invariably termed Roman Catholics, Sir John alone did not join in the uproar of opposition. This, of course, made Claiborne and his partner Martian, the Huguenot, Harvey’s bitter enemies. Martian was at this time representing not only York Plantation but Kent Island, in the Virginia Assembly. Lord Baltimore never returned to Virginia. He drew up the Maryland charter with his own hand, but died early in 1632 before it had received the great seal. It was given to his eldest son, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, who appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Governor of Maryland. Leonard and another brother, George, with a company of three hundred men, whose leaders were Catholics, sailed from England in the ships the *Ark* and the *Dove* and cast anchor before Point Comfort in February, 1634. They were received with the greatest displeasure by the Virginians, both because of being “Papists” and because the colony was loath to give up its territory. Captain Claiborne informed the Governor and Council that the Marylanders had served notice on him that he was now a member of their plantation and should relinquish relations with Virginia. The Board answered that there was no more reason why they should give up Kent than any other part of Virginia and that they were bound by their oaths “to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the colony. . . . Nevertheless, in all humble submission to his Majesties Pleasure we resolve to keep and observe all good Correspondency with them.” Harvey, in a letter to Secretary Winde-

banke (who was a friend of Lord Baltimore's) promised to do the Marylanders all the service he was able, but confessed his power in Virginia was "not greate, being limited to the greater number of Voyces at the Council Table and there I have almost all against me in whatever I can propose, especially if it concerns Maryland." Virginians were so averse to helping Maryland that they made it their "familiar talk" that they "would rather knock their cattle in the head" than sell them to the new colony. Harvey reported that he had sent them some cows of his own and would do his best to procure them more, "or anything else they stand in need of," adding that Captain Matthews had had letters in the interest of Maryland from England "upon reading whereof hee threw his hatt upon the ground, scratching his head, and in a fury stamping," and cursing Maryland. "Many letters and secret intelligences hee and the rest of the Councill have, especially Clayborne, and many meetings and consultations."

Happily, there were quiet, thoughtful persons here and there, who "went on cutting bread and butter," though the atmosphere around them was electric with wrath over the oppressions of the Governor and the action of the King in robbing Virginia of so many of her fair acres to make a colony for "Papists." For instance Benjamin Syms, on the twelfth of the very month that brought the *Ark* and the *Dove* to Point Comfort made the earliest bequest of a resident in any English colony for education. He gave 200 acres on Poquoson (a stream flowing between York Plantation and Point Comfort) "with the milk and increase of eight cows for the maintenance of a learned and honest man to keep, upon said ground, a free school for the education and instruction of the children of the adjoining parishes of Elizabeth City and Kickotan, from Mary's Mount downward to Poquoson River." A few years after Syms' death it was written: "We have a free school with two hundred acres of land, a fine house upon it, forty milch kine and other accommodations. . . . Other petty schools we have."

The County of Elizabeth City was fortunate, for, on Sept. 20, 1659, another of its planters, Thomas Eaton, bequeathed

a farm of five hundred acres with everything on it, including houses, furniture, orchards, two negroes, fourteen cattle and twenty hogs, for a second free school for children born within the limits of the county.

There is much testimony to the benefits of both the Syms and Eaton schools. They survive today in the Syms-Eaton Academy which, with a handsome building and a little endowment fund that has come down to it from its founders, is part of the public school system of the town of Hampton. From the middle of the seventeenth century on, many wills, some of them of men and women of obscure position and small estate, show bequests for founding schools or aiding children of the poor in obtaining an education. When in 1671, Governor Berkeley thanked God that there were no free schools in the colony he gave enemies of Virginia a weapon with which they have been hacking away at her fair name ever since. What the embittered old Cavalier meant is a mystery. He certainly knew of the Syms, Eaton, and other schools then scattered about, but perhaps he deemed them as nothing as compared with the great schools of England. He was himself a scholar and an author, but he was also an extremely narrow aristocrat wrapped up in a caste feeling that made him spurn the common people, who he probably thought had no more right to learn to read than to wear gold lace forbidden them by act of Assembly.

It was in 1634 that Virginia was divided into shires, to be governed as the shires in England. County lieutenants, sheriffs, and other county officers were appointed and county courts established. The names of the eight shires were James City, Charles City, Elizabeth City, Warwick River, Warrosquyacke (now Isle of Wight), Charles River (later changed to York), and Accawmack.

Sundry little happenings of the year 1634 throw sidelights on the Virginia scene. It is under this date that beaver skins and hens are first mentioned in payment of debts. Agnes Williams was to pay the widow Hollins twelve hens for attending her in confinement, but the widow sued her for eighteen hens. The Rev. William Cotton sued Henry Charleton for non-

payment of tithes of tobacco due that parson's salary. Witnesses testified they had heard Charleton call Mr. Cotton a "black-coated raskall" and say that if he had the parson "without the Churchyard" he would have "kicked him over the palisade." Charleton was sentenced to "build a pair of stocks and sit in them three several Sabbath days in the time of Divine Service," and then ask Mr. Cotton's forgiveness. Occasionally in these good old times a sinner was given a choice of penalties. Joan Butler for slandering the wife of Edward Drew was sentenced to be drawn across King's Creek at the stern of a boat, *or else*, "on the next Sabbath day in the time of Divine Service between the First and Second Lesson" to present herself before the minister and say after him these words: "I, Joan Butler, do acknowledge to have called Maria Drew . . . and thereby I confess to have done her manifest wrong. Therefore I desire this Congregation & Maria Drew will forgive me & that this Congregation will join with me and pray God may forgive me."

The Rev. Anthony Panton was sent over as minister of the parish of Kiskyacke and Richard Kemp to supersede William Claiborne as Secretary of State of Virginia. Kemp became at once hand and glove with Harvey and his appointment and the displacement of Claiborne gave great offence to the colony. The new Secretary and the new Minister were in a constant broil and on one occasion Parson Panton called Mr. Kemp a "jackanapes," told him he was unfit for the office of secretary, and that his "lovelock" was tied with a ribbon as old as Paul's—meaning St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Kemp never forgot this insult.

A letter from Sir John Harvey to Charles I also adds colour to the Virginia picture. He prayed His Majesty for means to stand the expense of his office declaring that he "might as well be called the host as the Governor of Virginia"—all the country's public affairs being prosecuted at his house, where he was expected to offer hospitality to all comers. He says that if some speedy relief is not found for him "not only his purse but his heart will break."

Relations between Governor Harvey and his Council became

more and more strained. He treated them with open contempt and during a contention with Councillor Richard Stephens knocked out some of that gentleman's teeth “with a cudgel.” He imposed taxes without authority of the Assembly—thus infringing the colonists' most jealously guarded right. When Parson White rebuked him from the pulpit for his misdeeds, the Governor “silenced” that minister from preaching. Of course the people enjoyed the rebuke and were furious because such interesting preaching was “silenced.” The King had expressly written the Marylanders that the Kent Islanders must not be molested. Yet, when contrary to orders, they seized Captain Claiborne's pinnace and sold her with her cargo, Harvey upheld them. He made a peace with the Indians which the colonists considered dangerous. The worst came when in the spring of 1635 the Governor neglected to forward to the King letters addressed to him by the Assembly, in regard to the Tobacco Monopoly which touched the pocket and the necessities of life of every man in Virginia.

Now the indignant planters begin to hold secret meetings to discuss their grievances and prepare a petition from the people to the Council asking for redress. Late on the night of April 27, 1635, the Governor heard of a meeting in the house of William Warren, at York, addressed by Nicholas Martian, William English, and Captain Francis Pott who (for “very saucily” opposing Harvey's assistance of the Marylanders) had been removed from his post as Commander of the fort at Point Comfort. Dr. John Pott, who was still nursing his own grievance against Harvey, was active in circulating the petition, which was taken from plantation to plantation the length and breadth of the colony, and eagerly subscribed to by the people.

As early as possible the morning of the twenty-eighth, Governor Harvey had the speakers arrested, brought to Jamestown and put in irons. When they asked why they were arrested the Governor answered that they “would know that at the gallows.” He summoned the Council to meet at his house and trial of the offenders was made the order of the day. The Governor presided with a “frowning countenance”

and the prisoners were brought in clanking their chains. The Governor commanded Captain Pott to produce the writing he carried under his coat. Pott handed him the People's signed complaints, saying: "Sir, if I have offended, I appeal to His Majesty; for I know I shall receive no justice from Sir John Harvey." Whereupon the prisoners were ordered back to jail. When they were gone the Governor stormed up and down the room and demanded that they be sentenced by martial law and immediately put to death, but the Council insisted upon a regular trial. Drawing a paper from his pocket Harvey propounded a question to be answered by each councillor in turn, without consultation with the others. He began at Mr. Menifie: "What do you think they deserve that have gone about to persuade the people from their obedience to His Majesty's substitute?" Menifie, like an old-fashioned girl with her first proposal, gave it up upon the ground that the question was too "sudden." After much angry argument with nothing decided, Harvey demanded the reason of the petition against him. Menifie replied that their chief grievance was his detaining the Assembly's letters to the King. "Say you so?" thundered the Governor. "Yes," was the emphatic reply. Harvey moved on the speaker. His fist shot out and struck Menifie on the shoulder. "I arrest you on suspicion of treason!" he cried. Captain Utie, laying hold of him exclaimed, "And we the like to you, sir!" And of course Bedlam broke loose. Captain Mathews put his arms round the raging Harvey and forced him into his chair, saying: "There is no harm intended against you, sir. Sit down and listen to the complaints of the people." Dr. Pott who was near a window made a signal with his hand and immediately the house was surrounded by musketeers brought into town by Captain Pierce, and kept in ambush. Mathews said: "Sir, the people's fury is up against you and to appease it is beyond our power unless you please to goe for England, there to answer their complaints." Harvey protested but he was perfectly helpless and found it useless to resist. A letter written in "an affright" for his safety, by Captain Purifoy, turned the scale and he gave up. John West, "an ancient

planter” and still another brother of Lord Delaware, was chosen by the Council to succeed Harvey, “before he was out of the Capes.” “Menifie did absolutely refuse his aide” in arresting Harvey, “alledging that it was not fit to deale soe with his Majesty’s substitute; hee went not home as hee said but to the back river where he debated with himselfe desiringe of God to confirme his resolution or abolish it, but the losse of the country (meaning Maryland) sticking in his stomache, at last hee came resolved as the rest.”

On May 7, the Assembly approved the Council’s action and named Commissioners to go to England and lay the Virginia troubles before the King. The Assembly presented its side of the case in a report sent over by Captain Francis Pott and Thomas Harwood, who had been Commander of Martin’s Hundred in 1620, and was many years a burgess and councillor. Harwood and Pott sailed upon the same ship which took the deposed Governor home. Whether or not they enjoyed Sir John’s company or he theirs is one of the things that the records leave to our imagination.

As soon as they arrived at Plymouth, Harvey hastened to see the Mayor of that town and tell his side of the story. Whereupon Harwood and Pott were arrested, sent to London and confined in the Fleet prison, and the Assembly’s papers were seized—while Harvey went post haste to London to give his version of the news from Virginia. When Charles heard of this first rebellion in any English colony, he was indignant, and vowed he would send Sir John back to his post, “if only for one day.” When the case was tried by the Privy Council, Sir John was exonerated and West, Utie, Mathews, Menifie, and Pierce were summoned to England to answer the charge of treason. To make his return more impressive Sir John asked Charles for one of his own ships for the voyage. The *Black George* was tendered him but it proved to be unseaworthy and the Governor was glad to return to safety and, later, to content himself with a merchant ship. He did not see Virginia again for nearly two years.

In October 1635, Harvey wrote the King that he had “victualled the *Black George* prize ship lent him by His

Majesty for 100 passengers, for Virginia, more than 20 being gentlemen of quality, but the vessel proving so leaky was constrained to put back to Portsmouth." He prayed "some speedy supply . . . in compassion for his great losses." He and "some few of his company" arrived in Virginia on January 18, 1637.

Two days after the "thrusting out" of Harvey, Captain Claiborne went to Jamestown to complain of the "oppressions" of the Marylanders, "who have slaine three and hurt others of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Kent." When Lord Baltimore heard of the rebellion in Virginia he sent a request to the King that he would order West, Mathews, Utie, and Pierce sent to England to answer for their misdemeanours and give Harvey a new commission "to be Governor with enlarged powers." Now, what business was it of his? But the worst was yet to come. In the following spring, Lord Baltimore actually applied to the King for appointment as Governor of Virginia—saying that he "would accept the government & two thousand pounds yearly," and would "transport himself thither with as much speede as his Majestie & this Service require." Needless to say his kind offer was not accepted.

Late in 1635 came a cry of distress from poor Francis Pott. Still close prisoner in the Fleet, with "no means left to subsist upon and weakened in health," he petitioned for liberty to go out to attend to his affairs sometimes with his keeper, returning to the prison at night." On May 20, 1636, he was still "close prisoner," and "truly, sorrowful for any offence committed on his part" he prayed for liberty "whereby he might be preserved from infection in this dangerous time of contagion."

All of the "mutineers" were finally bailed. No action was ever taken against them and all managed to get back to Virginia—where they became more prosperous and prominent than formerly.

Virginia was getting on. Richard Kemp wrote to Secretary Windebanke in April 1636 that twenty-one ships had arrived in James River during that year "all of which are

returning freighted with tobacco for London.” He suggested that the King should have a custom house in Virginia “with a good allowance to a customer.” In one of King Charles’ letters to the colony this year he calls Virginia “the most ancient plantation of our English nation.”

Of course Harvey was more high-handed than ever during his brief second administration. He wreaked to the utmost his hatred on the men who had risen against his former oppressions—especially on Mathews, who was still in England and whose estate in Virginia was for that reason all the more subject to his spoliation. This he seized and “made havoc” of “by disposing of the same to several other persons.” He disregarded an order from the Privy Council to restore Captain Mathews estate until they wrote a second stern and positive order, which he obeyed. Mathews was the owner of many cattle and Governor Harvey “often vowed that he would not leave him worth a cow tail” when he finished with him and that “if he, the said Governor stood, t’other should fall, if he swam t’other should sink.”

And see Kemp seeking his revenge on the Rev. Anthony Panton. On information given by Kemp, the parson was sentenced by Harvey and his Council, to banishment from Virginia, his property to be confiscated and permission given to anybody who chose to kill him. When Wyatt arrived, Kemp escaped to England carrying the records in the case with him, and what the charges were is still unknown. Thomas Stegg, ship owner, was tried for aiding Kemp to escape and fined fifty pounds sterling and imprisonment “during the Governor’s pleasure.”

At a later court held at Jamestown, the case was given a rehearing, Kemp’s flight was pronounced “a presumption of self guiltiness,” and the half tithes of the parish of York and Kiskiyacke and a house were given to Panton. The amounts of tobacco which Sir John had “taken with his hands” out of the parson’s tithes were ordered deducted out of the bills given in upon the sale of Sir John’s goods and the corn, amounting to fifty pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence, deducted and reserved out of the bills payable for Sir John’s

goods in money. Hutchinson, Sheriff of James City was made responsible for the two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco levied by him for fees.

Sir John Harvey was Governor of Virginia until November 1638, when he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt. Nothing is known of Harvey's later history, but he doubtless returned to his old profession of ship master, as when he made his will, in 1646, he was "about to go to sea."

The return to the Governor's chair of Wyatt, the excellent, brought great relief to the Virginians, following as it did, the malodorous administration of Sir John Harvey.

The causes of discontent in Virginia during the foregoing years were mainly local. Animosity to the settlement of Maryland was chiefly from wounded pride and fear of "Papists." There was some criticism of Charles I, of course, as when Thomas Powell in a grouchy mood said that "Kings in former times went to war but this king is fitten for a lady's lap." But early in his reign Charles had restored to the colony the precious right of holding legislative assemblies, and it was during the troubled years when England was being driven into Civil War by her King's misgovernment that the foundation of Virginia's steadfast loyalty to him was laid.

During the time when liberty in England seemed in danger of perishing—when there was no Parliament and almost no law save the will of the King—Virginia, through annual sessions of her legislature, could carry out her determination that no taxes should be imposed "otherwise than by authoritie of the Grand Assembly." So the Virginians, living in peace and in increasing prosperity, taxed only by their own representatives, governed by their own laws, busily engaged in opening up new plantations and in the increased culture of their lucrative staple, tobacco, had no feeling to King Charles but of loyalty and affection.

From the settlement of Virginia until this time there seem to have been no religious dissensions in the colony, but now the war between King and Church against Parliament and People, sometimes known as the Puritan Revolution, was brewing in England. Not satisfied with the work of Eliza-

both in filling with protestant parsons the rectories and pulpits that had been occupied by “popish priests” each brand of protestantism—including low churchmen of the established church—had come to conscientiously believe that all others were bound straight for Hell. The Book of Common Prayer which had formerly been loved and revered was regarded as an instrument of Satan. The sincere, but narrow William Laud, Bishop of London and later, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was an absolute ruler of the Church of England as Charles I wished to be of the Kingdom, was hated by low churchmen because he was a high churchman who demanded that Communion tables be placed “altarwise” and introduced other ritualistic innovations which made the people fear (without reason) that he wished to bring back the Church of Rome. Presbyterians and Independents hated him for his relentless methods of enforcing use of the Prayer Book liturgy and the outcry of “No bishops,” which brought the Archbishop’s head to the block, began.

Of course there were echoes in Virginia of all that was going on in England. Virginia was staunchly loyal to Church and King, and the authority of both Charles and Archbishop Laud was more complete in the colony than in the mother country. When a waggish colonist—Stephen Reeks by name—was heard to say: “His Majesty is at confession with the Lord of Canterbury,” he was arrested and made to stand in the pillory for two hours (with a placard on his back describing his offence) and fined fifty pounds and imprisoned “during pleasure.”

CHAPTER XIX

VIRGINIA FOR THE KING

IN FEBRUARY 1642, arrived at Jamestown a new governor who took the hearts of Virginians by storm. This was no other than the celebrated Sir William Berkeley, Knight, a gentleman of captivating personality, then in the prime of life, and a bachelor. He was a graduate of Merton College, Oxford, who had seen the world as well as browsed in books. He was brave, handsome, genial, and hospitable, as well as energetic and progressive, and was a favourite of the King, to whom he was passionately loyal. The new governor's "Instructions," inspired by Archbishop Laud, began as follows:

"In the first place you be carefull Almighty God may be duly and daily served according to the Form of Religion established in the Church of England, both by yourself and people under your charge, which may draw down a blessing on all your endeavours. And let every congregation that hath an able minister build for him a convenient Parsonage House to which for his better maintenance over and above the usual pension you lay [out] 200 acres of Gleable lands. For the clearing of that land every one of his Parishioners for three years shall give some days labours of themselves and servants, and see that you have a special care that the Glebe land be sett as near the Parsonage House as may be and that it be of the best conditioned land. Suffer no invasion in matters of Religion and be careful to appoint sufficient and conformable ministers in each congregation. . . . Catechize and instruct them in the grounds and principles of Religion."

Berkeley was instructed to administer "Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy" to all emigrants—any that refused to be "shipped home." The same oaths were to be administered to mariners and merchants, "to prevent any danger of spyés." Councillors and "ten servants for every Councillor" were to be exempted from all taxes except a war of defence, assistance toward the building of a town or churches, or the minister's



SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, KNIGHT, CAVALIER GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, AND LADY BERKELEY

salary. All persons from sixteen to sixty were to be armed and a muster master general was appointed by the King who should four times yearly or oftener, inspect the arms and ammunition of every person in the colony and train the people in the use of arms. Colonists were prohibited from receiving any Indian into their homes, or to converse or trade with Indians without special license. Every person with a grant of five hundred acres must build a brick house twenty-four feet long and sixteen feet broad, with a cellar, "and so proportionately for grants of larger or lesser quantity." The Governor was to "endeavour by severe punishment to suppress drunkenness and . . . be careful ye great quantity of wine and strong waters be not sold into the hands of those that be likeliest to abuse it," and no merchant be suffered to bring in ten pounds worth of wine or strong waters that brings not one hundred pounds worth of necessary commodities, and so rateably." The "unkind differences" in England caused Charles to be embarrassed for lack of money and the royal allowance to the Governor of Virginia was suspended. "From the infancy of the colony" such a thing had never before happened. Berkeley's first Assembly (in April 1642) ordered a levy of two shillings upon every tithable person in the colony, payable in provisions, for the support of the Governor, and a house, in Jamestown, with a lot of two acres, was presented to him as a "free and voluntary gift, in consideration of many worthy favours manifested toward the colony." The "provisions" in which this tax could be paid were: Indian corn, wheat, malt, beef, pork, "good" hens, capons, calves, "six weeks old," cheese, geese, turkeys, and kids. County sheriffs were ordered to give the people notice when and where to bring in their proportions of these and after making collections of the food stuffs to hire boats and men to bring them to Jamestown to Governor Berkeley's house.

Statutes to regulate the sale of liquors show the Assembly's constant war against excessive drinking. Grand juries found frequent indictments for drunkenness without respect to the importance, socially or financially, of the offender. It

must have been difficult for a lawyer to grow rich in Virginia at this time for, "No attorney shall demand or receive a fee above the quantity of twenty pounds of tobacco, or the value thereof," saith the Statute. "If any attorney shall take above such sums either by gift or love, directly or indirectly," he must pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco if in "a Countye Court" or two thousand pounds if in a Quarter Court. Marriages were to be solemnized either by license "under the signett from the Governor" (the more elegant way) or by banns published in parishes "where both parties do inhabite." The minister's fee (fixed by law) was forty pounds of tobacco for marriage by banns, or one hundred pounds (to be divided between minister and Governor) with license.

The Assembly graciously thanked Sir William for vetoing a poll tax of four pounds of tobacco yearly for the Governor: "a benefit descending upon us and our posterity which we acknowledge contributed to us by our present Governor." In June 1642 the Assembly presented him with an orchard and two houses belonging to the colony, "as a free and voluntary gift in consideration of many worthy favours manifested towards the colony." A later Assembly confirmed this gift to "said Sir William Berkeley and to his heirs forever."

In 1637 the Assembly had appointed George Sandys, sometime Treasurer of Virginia, its agent to represent it in England. Sandys petitioned the House of Commons, "In the name of the adventurers and planters of Virginia," to restore the Virginia Company. This April (1642) Assembly sent a protest declaring that their agent had mistaken his instructions, sharply criticizing the defunct Company and beseeching the King to keep the colony under his direct government.

The protest reached Charles at York—where, having fled from distracted London, he was gathering troops for the Civil War by which England was then torn and when amid so much faction and disloyalty evidence of the affection of his far away colony was bound to be soothing. The letter of the Virginians had a gracious reply:

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. . . . Your ac-

knowledgments of our grace, bounty and favour toward you and your so earnest desire to continue under our immediate protection, is very acceptable unto us. . . . We had not before the least intention to consent to the introduction of any Company over that our colony and so we are by it much confirmed in our resolution and this approbation of your petition we have thought fit to transport to you under our royal signet. Given at our Court at York, the 5th of July, 1642."

Puritan influence and opposition to Archbishop Laud was creeping into Virginia. In the summer of 1642 an effort was made to secure ministers from New England for vacant parishes on Nansemond River. Philip Bennett, of Upper Norfolk (now Nansemond) County sailed to Boston with a petition signed by seventy-one Virginians asking for "three able ministers" for parishes in their neighbourhood. John Knowles, a Cambridge Scholar, William Thompson, an Oxford graduate "of tall, comely presence," and Thomas James, an experienced preacher, then at New Haven, were sent and reached Jamestown, after a stormy wintry voyage, and presented letters of introduction from Governor Winthrop to Governor Berkeley. Stormy and wintry indeed, was doubtless the session of the Assembly which met on March 1, and enacted "That for the preservation of the puritie of doctrine and unitie of the Church all men whatsoever which shall reside in the colony are to be conformable to the orders and constitution of the Church of England and the laws therein established and not otherwise to be admitted to teach publickly or privately. And that the Grand Counsel do take Care that all non-conformists, upon notice, shall be compelled to depart the Collony with all convenience." Early in the summer of 1643 Parsons James and Knowles returned to Massachusetts reporting that they had received no encouragement from Governor Berkeley, though "the people resorted to them in private houses." Thompson remained for a time in Virginia and made many converts. After the non-conformist ministers were "silenced" quite a congregation in the neighbourhood of Nansemond held services without the Prayer Book. Lord Baltimore gave notice that Maryand would welcome non-con-

formists and a number of Virginia's banished Puritans removed to that colony.

Civil war in England had been brewing a long time before it actually began. In May 1641, the powerful Earl of Strafford, the chief object of whose life was to make Charles I an absolute monarch, was beheaded and Archbishop Laud sent to the Tower from whence he was only brought out to receive the same fate. There were many stormy debates in Parliament, many wild gatherings of London mobs in the streets outside. The King's declaration (November 25, 1641) that he would govern according to the laws and maintain the "Protestant religion as it had been established in the times of Elizabeth and his father" brought such acclaim that he was encouraged to refuse to agree with the "Grand Remonstrance"—the name given to a statement by the Commons of the faults of the reign of Charles, with a request that the affairs of Church be referred to an Assembly of clergy named by Parliament. Friends of the King's party saw in this paper, drawn up by his bitterest opponents, preparation for the establishment of Presbyterianism. A very small majority voted against Charles, but they suggested having the "Grand Remonstrance" printed and circulated among the people. The minority protested and the House broke loose in a violently tempestuous session. On March 16, 1642, the King slipped away from London, which had become an unhealthy place for him, and when he came back he was brought as a prisoner. Clash of arms began August 1642, when he unfurled the royal standard at Nottingham. Two years later, after many ups and downs his army suffered disastrous defeat at Marston Moor on July 2, 1644.

While Civil War raged in the mother country the Virginia Indians aroused themselves from a period of peace and showed the colonists new fury. Sir William Berkeley, distressed by news from overseas had ordered that April 18, 1644—Good Friday—be kept as a special day of fasting and prayer for the King, but Opechancanough, said to be a hundred years old and so feeble that he had to be borne about by some of his devoted braves on a litter, had other plans. He

had an affection of the eyelids which made it impossible for him to lift them but when it was necessary for him to see an attendant would raise them for him. Though so broken in body, the chief seemed as alert as ever in mind. At his instigation on Holy Thursday morning before daybreak, many of his subjects armed with their barbarous weapons and divided into small companies, presented themselves at houses of colonists dwelling in places distant from the more thickly settled parts, beat out the brains of the first person who opened the door, rushed in over the dead body of the victim, murdered, with tomahawk and scalp knife, everybody in the house and then set fire to it. Thus passed two days, during which (as well as can be gathered from the records) from three to five hundred persons were massacred. Of course prayers for the King were utterly forgotten in Virginia on that Good Friday, and of course a new and ferocious Indian war followed. The colonists made systematic and vigorous efforts to defend the country and to inflict on the savages such punishment that danger from them would be over forever. Militia was mustered and men drafted throughout the colony. For instance Major General Abraham Wood was put in command of Fort Henry and granted 400 acres of land "for him and his heirs forever," Captain Roger Marshall, in command of Fort Charles, on like terms. Pocahontas' son, Lieutenant Thomas Rolfe, was made commander of Fort James and given four hundred acres, and there is no suggestion that he objected to helping to defend the colony against his red-skinned half kin. William Claiborne was made "General of the Pamunkey River" and afterwards granted land at the first place where he landed in the march against the Indians of that tribe. This and the "Chickahominy march" were the principal expeditions against the red men.

Berkeley ordered that county lieutenants present to the Governor and Council "the first Monday in June (1644) a list of all persons from sixteen to sixty with arms and ammunition," and that soldiers who used "improper language in time of war" be punished. "Shot, ball and powder" were provided and sixty men and a cannon were sent to each fort.

Provision was made for food and clothing for the soldiers, for surgeons, and for care of widows and orphans of those who might fall. A public levy was made to defray the expenses of the expedition against the Pamunkey and Chickahominy tribes. Nathaniel Littleton was given command of the Eastern Shore, but, happily, there was no Indian outbreak in that region. The policy of destroying the Indians' growing corn too late in summer for another crop to be planted was again adopted. Colonists who, not long before the massacre, had settled in Gloucester County, on the north side of York River, were ordered by the Governor and Council to go to more protected places. Some of these were so unwilling to leave their new homes and the little farms and gardens they had laid out, that an armed force was sent to compel them to remove to safety.

In June following the massacre, Sir William Berkeley, leaving Kemp as deputy governor, sailed for England to seek advice. It was a bad time for the loyal Berkeley's return home for it was while he was crossing the Atlantic that the defeat of the King's Army at Marston Moor occurred. In June 1645, after a year's absence, a saddened Sir William arrived, unexpectedly, at Jamestown, in the nick of time to take part in a council of war in session there. News came in soon afterward that on the fourth of that same month his beloved royal master had been finally defeated and overthrown by the Parliament forces, at Naseby. At this time, Claiborne, with a band of kindred spirits, rebellious at the wrongs he had suffered at Kent Isle, drove Leonard Calvert from Maryland, where he was deputy governor, and seized command of that colony. Calvert fled to Virginia and refugeed there a year—till August 1646—when he regained his government.

Notwithstanding the distracted state of both England and Virginia, commerce between mother country and colony was kept up. On April 18, 1644 eleven London ships with eighteen to twenty guns each sailed from Point Comfort for England. There was some fighting in Virginia waters between merchant

vessels from ports like London which sided with Parliament, and Bristol—loyal to Charles.

The Indian war went on and the fearless Berkeley personally led the colonists on many a long, rough march, on one of which he surprised and captured the aged Opechancanough. The chief was borne in his litter to Jamestown, where it is said that Governor Berkeley intended to keep him until he could be sent to England, but remembrance of all the colony had suffered at the old Indian's hands was too much for one of his guards who despicably shot him in the back. He was buried at Jamestown. War was again declared against the Nansemonds and adjoining tribes, but within a few months they had been so completely subdued that they sued for peace and the Assembly, at its session of October 1646, confirmed a treaty with Necatowance, "King of the Indians," successor to Opechancanough, who seems to have been chief of all the neighbouring tribes both north and south of James River, and of the Pamunkey. The Indians promised to acknowledge the English king (who had lost his own realm), to whom their kings should bring annual tribute of "twenty beaver skins, at the going of the geese"—their picturesque term for autumn. All the land between James and York rivers (how sorrowfully they must have promised it!) should be in unmolested possession of the English, who promised to protect the Indians from their enemies and give them the lands north of York River for their hunting ground. Every Indian was prohibited on pain of death from being found within English territory unless sent in as a messenger, in which case he was to wear a striped jacket, as a badge. Any white man found in the Indian hunting-ground was guilty of felony. Thus ended the famous Powhatan Confederacy and began a blessed peace which was unbroken through over twenty years. The Assembly of October 1646 which confirmed the treaty, repealed acts prohibiting trade with the Indians, directing cutting down their corn, and making war on the Nansemonds.

In February 1644-5, the Assembly decreed that April 18 be yearly celebrated as a day of Thanksgiving "for our deliverance from the hands of the Salvages," and that the "last

Wednesday in every month be set apart for a day of fasting and humiliation and it be wholly dedicated to prayers and preaching." After the massacre and before Opechancanough's capture the Weyanokes and probably other Indians of the James River country, fearing the revenge of the colonists, fled to Roanoke River, in North Carolina. For years following the treaty the policy of the Virginia government toward the Indians was not illiberal. Laws for their protection were passed at five sessions of the Assembly from July 1653 to March 1659-60. The last named session enacted that as the King of Weyanoke (who had evidently returned to Virginia) "by reason of many disadvantageous bargains with the English, had gotten into debt and been arrested by his creditors, he should be exempt from arrest for debt until the first of March succeeding." It is written that "at the going of the geese" in 1648, Neckotowance went with five other chiefs to Jamestown and presented to the Governor twenty beaver skins to be sent to the dethroned King Charles as tribute. Some persons saw in the second massacre, Virginia's punishment by an angry God for harbouring Puritans, others punishment for banishment of those same Puritans. Doubtless the latter view was shared by Rev. Thomas Harrison who is said to have been Governor Berkeley's chaplain and to have approved the act requiring liturgical services, but who, after the massacre, turned Puritan and preached to the Nansemond congregation which held services without the Prayer Book. In November 1647, the Assembly had decreed that ministers refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer were not entitled to tithes or duties from their parishioners.

During the years 1648-51, Lord Baltimore or his representatives had, in order to increase emigration to Maryland which had been disappointingly slow, offered great inducements in the way of religious liberty to those who might settle there. In consequence, many Virginia Puritans from Isle of Wight, Nansemond and Lower Norfolk Counties, availed themselves of the hospitality of the Catholic colony, and settled in Anne Arundel County. When, in 1648, Parson Harrison, then minister of a parish in Lower Norfolk and also

preaching in Nansemond, was, with a number of his congregation, presented to the County Court for not conducting service according to the rites of the Church of England, Harrison and his "elder," William Durand, were banished from Virginia and fled to Maryland, whence Harrison soon passed to Boston.

Early in 1649 the Sheriff of Lower Norfolk presented to the Court Edward Lloyd and Thomas Meares (both members of the Court), with several others, as "seditious sectaries" for not going to their parish church and refusing to "hear Common Prayer." The Court gave them until October to conform but by that time all the parties named were in Maryland. In the fall of 1648 Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts wrote of the arrival from Virginia of "one Mr. Harrison, pastor of the Church at Nansemond there" who reported that the church had grown to 118 persons, which had stirred up "Governor Berkeley to make persecution against them." Harrison never returned to Virginia. In Boston he courted and married a relative of Governor Winthrop and sailed for England where he spent the rest of his life. Though it is perfectly true that there was some (for the time) mild religious persecution in Virginia, for the colony's honour be it said that no person ever suffered death there in the name of religion or for witchcraft, and that corporal punishment was never inflicted on dissenters, with exception of one Quaker, who was whipped. The most prominent man among the refugees for conscience sake to Maryland was Richard Bennett. He retained his citizenship in Virginia and succeeded Berkeley as Governor. In 1648 many apples were raised and many butts of cider made on Bennett's plantation, near Jamestown. In this year there were in Virginia about fifteen thousand English and three hundred negroes. There were twenty thousand cattle, two hundred horses and mares and three thousand sheep—producing wool, which was carded, spun, and woven into cloth on the plantations. There were five thousand goats, innumerable hogs, wild and tame, and abundant poultry. There were public brew houses and many planters brewed beer for their own use. A public market, twice a week, was established at Jamestown in 1649. It ex-

tended "from the sandy hollow on the westward, by Peter Knight's store, eastward to the house of Launcelott Elay and the north side bounded by the Back river." Bricks were made in abundance. Berkeley built at Jamestown a row of three brick houses and says he sold the "westernmost" one to Bennett. Sir William was now living at Greenspring, his plantation two miles north of Jamestown, in a brick house with a great hall and six rooms, and had an orchard of fifteen hundred trees—peaches, apricots, quinces, etc. Captain Mathews whose plantation, "Mary's Mount," on James River not far above Newport News, has been mentioned is said to have had "a fine house and all things answerable to it." Councillor Brocas, a "much travelled man" whose inventory lists "old books in various languages" was making wine of the grapes of his "own excellent vine-yard," at his Elizabeth City plantation, and Richard Kinsman was justly proud of the "forty or fifty butts of perry" made from the pears of his fine orchard.

In London, on January 6, 1649, a special High Court of Justice composed of a remnant of the House of Commons, without the Lords (all of whom refused to take part) brought Charles I to trial. Only his bitterest opponents among the Commons consented to sit, and he refused to plead—holding that the Court had no jurisdiction over a king. The trial, interrupted by cries from spectators of "God save your Majesty," lasted through four days. On the fifth day the King was sentenced to die on a charge of being a "tyrant, traitor, and enemy of his country." He received his doom with the utmost dignity. Outside a window of the "Banqueting Hall" (of all places!) of his own palace, Whitehall, was raised a scaffold with two masked executioners, in readiness. Neighbouring streets and roofs were alive with citizens, while the military were drawn up at a convenient distance. The crowd watched breathlessly as, at the first blow of the axe, fell the kingly head which the art of Vandyke has made familiar to all the world. The axeman held it up and a groan of pity and horror broke from multitudinous throats. All Europe gasped at the news. The Continental powers denounced the

act and the actors. The nineteen-year-old Prince of Wales assumed the title of Charles II and took refuge in Holland, where he was addressed as "Your Majesty." The Scotch proclaimed him their king and promptly sent an embassy to The Hague to invite him to the throne.

Meanwhile Parliament proclaimed England to be a Commonwealth, without king or lords. This meant a renewal of war. The youthful Charles II entered England at the head of the Scottish army which, on September 3, 1651 was completely destroyed by Oliver Cromwell and his Parliamentary forces. Charles fled to France in disguise.

When, in 1649, news came to Jamestown that Charles I, whom Berkeley had known personally and warmly admired, had been beheaded, Sir William, with all Virginia, was not only thunderstruck but filled with grief and indignation. He called an Assembly which helped him to express his feelings in a declaration of loyalty to "the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted king," and denunciation of the "unparal'd treasons, perpetrated on the said King," and also passage of an act.

"... by the Governour, Council and Burgesses of this Grand Assembly . . . that what person soever . . . shall go about to defend or maintain the late traitorous proceedings against the aforesaid King of most happy memory . . . shall be adjudged an accessory *post factum*, to the death of the aforesaid King, and shall be proceeded against for the same according to the knowne laws of England: And whosoever shall go about by irreverent or scandalous words or language to blast the memory and honour of that late most pious King (deserving altars and monuments in the hearts of all good men) shall upon conviction suffer such censure and punishment as shall be thought fitt by the Governour and Council. *And be it further enacted*, That what person soever shall by words or speeches indeavour to insinuate any doubt, scruple or question of . . . the undoubted and inherent right of his Majesty that now is to the collony of Virginia, and all other his majesties dominions and countreyes as King and Supream Governour, such words and speeches shall be adjudged high

treason. *And be it also enacted*, That what person soever . . . shall spread abroad . . . anything tending to change government, or to the lessening of the power and authority of the Governor or government either in civill or ecclesiastical causes . . . shall be adjudged equally guilty". . . .

The Eastern Shore was especially loyal. On May 16, 1649, the "Court & Commissioners of Accomacke County" which was then the whole of the Eastern Shore—without waiting for any act of Assembly, issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God for us to be deprived of our late dread Sovereign of Blessed memory, We the Court & Commissioners of Accomacke, Do by these presents proclaim Charles the undoubted Heir of our late Sovereign of blessed memory, To be King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland and Virginia and all other remote provinces and Colonies, New England and the Caribbe Islands and all other hereditaments and indowments belonging to our late sovereign of blessed memory, Willing and requiring all his Majesties people to acknowledge their allegiance and with general consent and applause pray God to bless Charles the Second King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, Virginia, New England, the Caribbe Islands and all other provinces & Subjects to the English Crown. And so God save King Charles the Second. Amen. Amen. Amen."

At Berkeley's request, Colonel Richard Lee I hired a Dutch ship and went abroad to deliver to the fugitive king Sir William's commission from Charles I for the government of Virginia. Charles II, whom he found at Breda, Holland, gave him a new commission for Governor Berkeley (dated June 3, 1650) and his Council, which included a number of prominent Virginians and Sir William Davenant, later poet-laureate,—who never reached Virginia, as he was captured at sea. The commission directed these gentlemen to "build castles and forts of lime and stone . . . for the better suppressing of such of our subjects as shall at any time invade those territories." The young King added touching reference to "Our plantations in Virginia, who have carried them-

selves with so much loyalty and fidelity to the King, our father, of blessed memory."

Though England and her first colony were now under antagonistic governments—the Commonwealth of England and the kingdom of Virginia—intercourse and trade continued. The committee of the Admiralty frequently granted license to ships to carry passengers and goods to Virginia on their captains giving bond to do no injury to the Commonwealth.

On September 19, 1650, however, an act of Parliament prohibited trade and commerce with Virginia and other colonies still adhering to the King, "because of their rebellion against the Commonwealth and government of England." Notwithstanding this ruinous act, Berkeley, in an impassioned speech to the Assembly, in the following March, gives thanks that "God hath separated the Virginians from the guilt of the crying blood of our Pious Sovereigne of ever blessed memory:" Adding, "But mistake not, Gentlemen, part of it will yet staine your garments if you willingly submit to those murtherous hands that shed it." He closes with: "Gentlemen, by the Grace of God we will not so tamely part with our King, and all these blessings we enjoy under him; and if they oppose us do but follow me, I will either lead you to victory or loose a life which I cannot more gloriously sacrifice than for loyalty and your security."

In a long "Declaration" the Assembly proclaimed: "We are resolved to continue our Allegiance to our most gracious King, yet as long as his gracious favour permits us, we will peaceably (as formerly) trade with the Londoners and all other Nations in Amity with our Sovereigne: Protect all foreign Merchants with our utmost force from injury in the rivers: Give letters of Reprisal to any injured within our Capes: Allwaies pray for the happy restoration of our King, and repentance in them who, to the hazard of their soules have opposed him."

While, Berkeley and the Assembly were taking steps to defy the new government, Sir William received a letter from the English Council of State, ordering him to permit Mr.

Harrison, banished from the Colony for refusing to use the Prayer Book, to return to his ministry, as the Governor "must know that the Prayer Book was now prohibited by Parliament." Mr. Harrison made no attempt to return to Virginia. From the time of the King's death, however, royalists—or cavaliers as they were generally called—gladly came, for Virginia was a natural haven of rest and peace for them. Many Virginians had letters from friends in England telling of the turmoils and convulsions there and wishing that the writers were in the colony. And see them coming! In groups large or small, with their flowing locks, their upturned moustaches, the lace collars and long cravats which had supplanted the persistently fashionable Elizabethan ruffs, and "falling bands" of the reign of James. By their dress you shall know them. The Puritans affect severely plain attire and the cropped hair which has given them the nick name of "Roundheads." Attempts have of late years been made to minimize the importance of the Cavalier Emigration, but it is idle to dispute the authoritative statements of contemporaries. No man could have been in better position to know than Clarendon. Writing in the Eighteenth book of his History, of the Surrender of Virginia to Parliament he says:

"Sir William Berkeley, the Governor thereof . . . had industriously invited many gentlemen and others thither, as a place of security . . . where they might live plentifully. Many persons of condition and good officers of the war had transplanted themselves with all the estates they had been able to preserve." The Parliamentary Commissioners, in their report after the surrender of Virginia said that Berkeley's intention to defend the country had been strengthened "by those unhappy gentlemen that helped to ruine themselves and their King." These are but two of many witnesses to the Cavalier Emigration.

One of the first royalists to arrive was an individual calling himself by the fantastic name of Beauchamp Plantaganet, who claimed to be the agent for a number of persons seeking land on which to settle. At Newport News he was hospitably entertained by Captain Samuel Matthews, Mr. Moore Faunt-

leroy and other gentlemen—"finding free quarter everywhere," but no settlement was made in Virginia.

Perhaps the most picturesque character who came was Sir Thomas Lunsford, who had been a wild and lawless youth and who, when, in December, 1641, the King made him Lieutenant of the Tower, became the object of intense hatred and fear of Parliament, which saw in the appointment danger of use of force against itself. In its rage, it accused him of all sorts of desperate deeds—even of cannibalism. He served gallantly in the King's army however, was twice captured, each time soon released and finally given leave to come to Virginia, bringing Lady Lunsford and his daughters. Among the cavaliers who came were a number of ministers of the Established Church who had been ejected from their parishes.

About the middle of September 1649, sailed for Jamestown the ship *Virginia Merchant* with more than three hundred passengers. They knew that the colony was still for the King and bitterly opposed to his enemies and though one of them was Major Stevens, an officer in the Parliamentary Army, the rest are believed to have been royalists—men and women. Certainly Berkeley's relative Colonel Henry Norwood, Majors Francis Morryson, Richard Fox, and Francis Cary, were. After a stormy voyage, the ship was driven ashore on some islands off the coast of Maryland where the four gentlemen mentioned and some others landed and were well treated by Indians. Under guidance of an English fur trader, Jenkin Price, they set out for the nearest Virginia Plantation—that of Nathaniel Littleton on the Eastern Shore, where Price had a trading post. To this he brought the weary, storm-tossed travellers, at the close of the second day, after a hard tramp of twenty-five miles. They soon began to bask in Virginia hospitality. In the morning they went on to the plantation of Stephen Charlton (later a burgess) who noticing Colonel Norwood's need of fresh clothing, made him put on a "farmer-like" suit of his own. They next day visited Captain Argall Yeardley (son of Sir George), chief citizen of that part of Virginia.

In Norwood's diary, it is written: "It fell out very luckily for my better welcome that he had not long before brought over a wife from Rotterdam that I had known almost from a child. Her father, Custis, by name, kept a victualling house in that town, lived in good repute, and was the general host of our nation there. The Esquire, knowing I had the honour to be the Governor's kinsman, and his wife knowing my conversation in Holland, I was received, caress'd more like a domestick, and near relation, than a man in misery, and a stranger. I stay'd there for a passage over the Bay about ten days, welcomed and feasted not only by the Esquire and his wife, but by many neighbours."

Colonel Norwood and party next crossed Chesapeake Bay in a sloop to the York River plantation of Councillor George Ludlow, whose influence is said to have been effective in finally persuading the colony to surrender to the Commonwealth. Thence they went on to partake of the hospitality of Captain Ralph Wormeley, Burgess and councillor for York County, "who lived not a furlong distant." At this plantation, on Wormeley's Creek (which still retains the name) they were heartily welcomed by Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir Henry Chicheley, Sir Philip Honeywood, and Colonel Hammond—cavaliers all, and friends of Norwood's. See them enjoying the Virginia weed on its native heath, regaling one another with memories of the good old days before England's troubles, speeding the hours with feasting, laughter, and singing—in which the cavalier song was doubtless conspicuously present:

Though for a time we see Whitehall
With cobwebs hung around the wall,
Yet Heaven shall make amends for all,
When the King shall enjoy his own again.

Captain Wormeley's wife who was hostess to these Cavaliers, was Agatha Eltonhead. She, several years later (after the death of Wormeley) married her former guest, Sir Henry Chicheley, and was long the mistress of beautiful "Rosegill," on the Rappahannock.

At Jamestown, Norwood was given a hearty welcome by his cousin, Governor Berkeley, who took him to "Green-spring" and kept him there several months. The Governor exerted himself to the utmost for the comfort and welfare of the cavaliers. He made Morryson commander of the fort at Point Comfort and sent Norwood to Holland (furnishing money for the journey) to seek the exiled King and petition him for the place of Treasurer of Virginia, which he felt Claiborne had forfeited by joining the Parliamentary party. Charles II had gone to Scotland, (where he was crowned) but Norwood followed him there and his petition was successful.

On September 10, 1651, no less than 1610 royalists were ordered by the English Council of State to be shipped to the colony at once. These were prisoners of war, taken at Worcester, and most of them were Scotchmen. They were "desired" by Virginians, for servants, and according to the record were "granted unto them upon assurance to give them Christian usage."

In September, 1651, the Long Parliament made an act prohibiting trade with the Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermuda, and Antigua, "because these colonies ought to be subject to the authority of Parliament," and declared that "divers acts of rebellion had been committed by many persons inhabiting Virginia, whereby they have most traitorously usurped a power of Government and set themselves in opposition to this Commonwealth." Captain Robert Dennis, Mr. Richard Bennett, Mr. Thomas Stegg, and Mr. William Claiborne were appointed commissioners to reduce "Virginia and the inhabitants thereof to obedience to the Commonwealth of England," and were instructed to "repair on board the *John* and *Guinea*, frigates, and sail to Virginia, as Captain Dennis shall direct, and reduce all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake."

The frigate *John* was lost at sea with all on board, including Captain Dennis and Commissioner Stegg, and their "Instructions." The *Guinea* arrived at Jamestown and her master, Captain Curtis, brought duplicate copies of the "Instruc-

tions." Bennett and Claiborne were already in Virginia and they, with Captain Curtis, proceeded to carry out orders for reducing the colony.

As soon as Berkeley heard of the proposed expedition to compel Virginia to submission to the Parliament he began planning for Virginia's defence against any attempt of Parliament to conquer it, and gathered at Jamestown ten or twelve hundred militia. The Indian king (who, be it remembered had become a subject of King Charles) promised to add five hundred of his warriors. But the cooler heads among the Councillors and Burgesses, after much argument, persuaded the Governor that this would be madness—especially considering the Act prohibiting trade. What would become of Virginia's lifeblood—the tobacco crop?

On March 12, 1652, Articles of Surrender of the Kingdom of Virginia to the Commonwealth of England were agreed upon by Governor, Councillors, Burgesses, and Commissioners, without loss of a drop of blood. According to the very liberal terms, this submission was to be "acknowledged a voluntary act, not forced nor constrained by a conquest of the country." Neither Governor nor Council had to take any oath to the Commonwealth "nor would be censured for praying for the King or speaking well of him for one whole year, in their private houses or neighbouring conferences." The Virginians were to be "free from all taxes and customs and none to be imposed without consent of the Grand Assembly." A messenger chosen by the Governor would be sent to England (at the Governor's expense) to give the King an account of the surrender. The present Governor (that is Sir William Berkeley) and Council were given leave to dispose of their estates and go where they please—debts to them to be made good by Act of Assembly. The Governor was given leave to hire a ship to take their goods to Holland. All persons who had served the King were free from danger or punishment. Governor and Council were to have passes to leave Virginia any time within a year and to be free from trouble or arrest six months after arrival in England. Use of the Book of Com-

mon Prayer was permitted for one year, "provided those things which relate to kingship or that government be not used publicly."

Virginia was the last of the King's dominions to surrender to the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XX

VIRGINIA UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY chose as his messenger to the exiled King, to tell the story of Virginia's surrender to the Commonwealth, a cavalier indeed—Colonel Francis Lovelace, brother of the poet. He had served in the King's army during the Civil Wars in England and was now one of the loyalist refugees in the colony. The Commissioners wrote to the English Council of State asking for a pass for Colonel Lovelace, "with his servant and necessities . . . to go to find the King, wherever he should be," as they had pledged their word and the honour of Parliament that he should not be molested in his errand. In May 1652 Lovelace arrived in England and, himself, petitioned the Council of State for an order to "pass into France where he supposeth said King to be, or elsewhere."

Colonel Lovelace later became Governor of New York. His sister, the widow of an ejected loyalist clergyman—Rev. John Gorsuch—had come to Virginia with him, bringing her children, many of whose descendants now live on this side of the ocean. Richard Lovelace, cavalier poet, brother of Colonel Francis, and of the widow Gorsuch, never came to Virginia, but his poetry did. His immortal words:

I could not love thee, dear, so much
Loved I not honour more,

familiar to every school child of the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth, undoubtedly contributed to the influences which formed Virginia character.

Long, long after the Cavalier and Commonwealth period, a brother of John Keats settled in the United States and handed on his name to descendants. So Virginia and other parts of America today can boast of both Lovelace blood and Keats blood—still running strong.

The first Assembly after the surrender to the Commonwealth met on April 30, 1652. "After long and serious debate"

and conference with the Commissioners, "Mr. Richard Bennett was unanimously elected Governor for this ensuing yeare, or untill the next meeting of the Assembly, with all the just powers and authorities that may belong to that place lawfully: and likewise Col. William Claiborne to be Secretarie of State, with all belonging to that office and is to be next in place to the Governour." Next they elected the Council, which included Capt. John West, Col. Samuel Mathews, Col. Nathaniel Littleton, Col. Argall Yeardley and ten other leading planters. "And they shall have power to execute and do right and equall justice to all the people and inhabitants of this collony, according to such instructions as they have or shall receive from the Parliament of England, and according to the knowne law of England and the Acts of Assembly have established. . . . God save the Commonwealth of England and this country of Virginia."

In a letter dated Whitehall, Oct. 2, 1651, to "Richard Bennett, Esquire, in Virginia," the English Council of State informed Bennett of an "inclosed letter sealed with the seal of the Council," in which he would find some instructions concerning himself which he was not to open "until the country be reduced to obedience to the Commonwealth of England." That done, he was to "open that letter and pursue directions he shall find therein." This implies that Bennett was the English Council's choice as Berkeley's successor. The Commissioners and the General Assembly agreed that election of all officers be by the Burgesses and that the Governor and Council be members of the Assembly. There was no mention of the King. The Assembly took its surrender to the Parliament seriously and the former "God save the King" had become "God save the Commonwealth."

In England, the people were finding that the sharp medicine of the executioner's axe could not cure all political ills. The exchange of King Charles I for the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, was an exchange of a would-be absolute monarch for a dictator. One result of the chaotic state into which the mother country now found herself was that both Parliament and Protector had their hands too full at home to give time

or thought to affairs in Virginia. It naturally followed that though the terms of surrender granted were liberal and were faithfully kept in the colony—all legal proceedings being conducted in the name of the Commonwealth or of the Lord Protector—the Burgesses stretched several of the clauses beyond their real meaning. From the few references to Virginia made by the English authorities, it is evident that they had no dream that the colony would arrive at the degree of self-government it actually achieved.

There is no period of Virginia History of which we have so little information as these eight years of the Commonwealth—1652-1660. Hardly any of the records at Jamestown during these years have been preserved. The English Public Record Office contains but few papers, and there are almost no contemporary letters, diaries, narratives or "relations." The chief sources of light on the subject are the acts and orders of the General Assembly published in Hening's "Statutes at Large," but they are highly illuminating. They show few dramatic episodes but an extremely interesting state of things. They show the Virginians governing themselves through their chosen representatives. Turn these yellow pages and see gentlemen of the Assembly busy with all the problems of the colony, making laws to govern planting and manufacture, import and export, labour and trade; to govern courts of justice and the punishment of crime, the activities of lawyers, ministers and physicians, land grants, the care of orphans, the education of white children and of Indians, observance of the Sabbath, the sale of liquors, salaries of public officials, *et cetera, et cetera*. These Burgesses sit with hats on, but upon debate of anything proposed by the Speaker the member speaking rises from his seat and stands "uncovered during the time he speaketh, wherein no interruption shall be made untill he have finished his discourse, upon penalty of one hundred pounds of tobacco."

Meantime, what was going on in the mother country? The answer is one word—Chaos. As Virginia was part of the British Empire and everything that happened in England was reflected in the colony, intelligent understanding of the story

of Virginia demands keeping the story of England in view. In 1652 began war between England and Holland which lasted until 1654 when peace was declared. During this time Virginia's trade suffered interference from Dutch men of war and privateers. The Virginia Assembly ordered the officers of Northampton County, on Chesapeake Bay, to seize any Dutch ships that came into those waters. Governor Bennett announced that we were at war with the Dutch and ordered out the militia. In July 1653 a dispute between Burgesses and Governor threatened, when Bennett advised against the election of Lieut. Col. Walter Chiles as Speaker. The matter was promptly and honourably settled by Chiles himself, who declined election "as he had private business which might be brought before the House." The business was his purchase of the Dutch ship *Leopoldus*, condemned for violation of the Navigation Act, prohibiting foreign vessels from carrying English or colonial goods.

To return to England: In 1652-53 the Long Parliament became exceedingly unpopular. Soon Oliver and his officers urged the House to dissolve, but without success, and on April 20, 1653 he dissolved it himself. On July 14 of that year met a Parliament composed of nominees of the army known from the name of one of its members as "Barebones Parliament." Continued disturbances made the people turn to Cromwell as the only person able to keep order and on December 11, Parliament dissolved itself and placed all power in his hands. On December 16, a document called "The Instrument of Government" was drawn up by the Army, Cromwell was appointed Lord Protector and a Council of State was appointed. In 1653-4 Cromwell had too many domestic problems to deal with to think of Virginia. Freedom of religious worship was allowed to all in England, provided they were Puritans. Episcopalians were not legally tolerated but were often allowed to meet privately. On December 5, 1654, a new Parliament was convened but a dispute arose over control of the Army and in three weeks Cromwell again dissolved it. The Instrument of Government authorized the Protector to raise necessary taxes without the consent of Parliament. Cromwell

did so early in 1655 but many refused to pay and there were preparations for resistance by Republicans in the Army. There was an actual royalist uprising. Cromwell now abandoned all pretense of constitutional government and divided England into eleven districts, each under charge of a Major General with arbitrary power. A ten per cent tax was assessed on the estate of all royalists. Cromwell, in alliance with France, began war with Spain. On September 17, 1656, a new Parliament met, but Cromwell turned out a hundred members opposed to himself. His fleets were very successful at sea at this time, but royalists plotted to assassinate him.

English ships from "home" continued to come to Virginia during this troubled period bringing English merchandise to be exchanged for Virginia tobacco. They must have brought letters full of news from relatives and friends to dwellers in the colony but unfortunately, few of them have been preserved. Almost no official communications were received. The colony sent various petitions to "His Highness the Lord Protector," but they were generally referred to the Committee on Plantations and never heard of again.

So self-government in Virginia went serenely on, though everything was said to be done in the name of the Lord Protector and grumblings against his government were promptly punished. For instance in 1654 a warrant was sworn out against William Durant "who is actually in rebellion against the Lord Protector." According to the Northumberland County records for 1655, Mrs. Mary Calvert confessed in court that she had called the Parliament and Lord Protector "rogues & rebels" but said that at the time she was in danger of being murdered by her husband and "spake those words" to bring about her arrest and thus be "secured from her husband." The court ordered that "ye said Mrs. Calvert shall personally receive thirty stripes upon her bare shoulders for this her offence." But "upon Mr. Calvert's petition in behalfe of his wife" the Court ordered him to pay a thousand pounds of tobacco for commuting "of ye corporall punishment to be inflicted upon his said wife with charges of court."

On March 31, 1655, the Assembly elected Edward Digges

governor, to succeed Richard Bennett. In December 1656 Digges, then Governor and soon to leave for England, was requested to remain in office as long as he was in Virginia. When he left Governor-elect Samuel Mathews would succeed him. A letter from the Virginia Assembly to Cromwell, Dec. 15, 1656, states that Digges "our late Governor . . . has been appointed agent for the colony to apply in behalf of Virginia to the Protector." The letter praises the administration of Digges "which he hath managed under your Highness." Digges was instructed to say that Virginia would interfere in no way with the affairs of Maryland. Cromwell had sent a severe and menacing reproof to the Governor and Council of Virginia for what he termed "the presumption and impiety of interference with Maryland." They were commanded to mind their own business in future. That was just what the colony was doing—minding its own business. The Commonwealth was a period of expansion and progress in many lines. At least two new free schools are of record during these years. In 1652 the Northumberland Court granted the petition of Richard Lee (first of the name in Virginia) "concerning a free school to be set up." William Whittington of Northampton in his will in 1659 gave two thousand pounds of tobacco for a free school.

It has been generally assumed, and evidently correctly, that use of the liturgy of the Church of England continued in Virginia throughout the Commonwealth period, though there is little of record about it. Permission to use the Prayer Book "for one year" after the surrender implies that it was to be prohibited later, but there is no proof that this was done. The Assembly passed several Acts showing interest in religious matters, such as offering a bonus of twenty pounds sterling to anyone who would import a minister and exempting every minister and six of his servants from taxation—with this significant proviso: "*That every such minister be examined and approved by the Reverend Philip Mallory and the Reverend John Green.*" Parson Mallory is known to have been a staunch Church of England man—one of the refugee loyalists. In 1644 the Parliamentarians had ejected him from

"Norton," his rectory in Durham. The character of his work in Virginia is shown by the resolution of the Assembly adopted immediately after the restoration of Charles II:

"Whereas Mr. Philip Mallory hath been eminently faithful in the ministry and very diligent . . . in all those things that might conduce to the advancement of religion in this country . . . he is requested to go to England and take measures in behalf of the Church in Virginia."

If the services of the Church of England had been suspended between 1652 and 1660 one of the first acts of Assembly after the Restoration would have been to re-establish the Church. As nothing was done about it, it was evidently unnecessary. "R. G."—another refugee minister of the Church of England (who published a pamphlet, "Virginia's Cure," upon his return home, soon after the Restoration) severely condemns religious conditions in the colony for some things but says that ministers going there will find a people with a great love for the Church of England, "which gave us (who went thither under the late persecution of it) the advantage of Liberty to use it constantly among them after the Naval force had reduced the colony under the power (but never to the obedience) of the usurpers."

Persecution of Quakers blots the page of our Virginia story of this period as it does that of England. In Virginia it took the form of banishment, whipping, and imprisonment. Ship captains were fined for bringing Quakers in and made to take them away again. One Barbary Winborough was tried as a witch, but to the honour of Virginia be it said, she was acquitted.

The Commonwealth period was one of growth in the colony, in territory and inhabitants. In addition to royalist refugees, many indentured servants were added to the population, among them a number from Ireland. These were evidently prisoners made by Cromwell in the war which ended, in 1652, with the reduction of Ireland and the confiscation of most of the land in three out of its four provinces.

Owing to the rapid increase of population extending close to the sections assigned to the Indians, new trouble with them



THE OLD CHURCH TOWER AT JAMESTOWN
With the restored church erected by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America
as a memorial and to protect the original foundations

developed. This was to large extent the fault of colonists who wished to get possession of the Indian lands. The Assembly inaugurated a system of placing the natives on reservations. To Tottopotomoy and the Pamunkeys, of which tribe he was chief, were assigned such land as the chief might choose on or near York River. The Assembly of 1654 ordered that an armed force be raised in the Northern Neck to march under command of Colonel John Carter to the Rappahannock Indian town and demand satisfaction of injuries done but to commit no acts of hostility unless attacked. The Assembly of March 1655-6 declared that troubles with the neighbouring Indians had been caused by "two particulars, our extreme pressures on them and their wanting [lacking] something to hazard and lose beside their lives." The Act provided for giving them land and personal property. If they chose as pledges of their good behaviour to bring in their children to be cared for by the colonists, the Assembly pledged itself not to allow them to be used as slaves but to be brought up "in Christianly civility and the knowledge of necessary trades." In March 1655-6 an act was passed which stated that "many western and inland Indians had come down from the mountains and lately sett downe near the falls of James River to the number of six or seven hundred" and that a party of one hundred men at least from Charles City and Henrico Counties with the aid of Tottopotomoy, the Chickahominies and other Indians must endeavour to remove the newcomers, without war, if possible.

These stranger Indians are believed to have been the Iroquois (better known to the Virginians as Richiheerians), who moved from their homes on the New York lakes and settled near the heads of Virginia rivers. Determination to drive away these unwelcome squatters brought on the bloodiest Indian battle in the history of the colony when the colonial militia under Colonel Edward Hill, of "Shirley," assisted by Tottopotomoy and his warriors were badly defeated at Bloody Run at the present Richmond. Tottopotomoy was killed with, it is said, a hundred of his braves. Though no contemporary account of this battle remains it was known in England, for Butler, in his "Hudibras," refers to "the

mighty Tottopottomoy." In December 1656, the General Assembly, by unanimous vote, declared Colonel Hill responsible for the loss of the fight, deprived him of all offices—military and civil—and directed that he pay the cost of making peace with the Richihecrians. The name of this battle was long preserved by Bloody Run Spring and Bloody Run Street in the eastern part of Richmond.

It was during the Commonwealth period that exploration beyond Tidewater began in the colony. In November 1652 the Assembly authorized Col. William Claiborne and Capt. Henry Fleet, the fur trader, to make discoveries "westward and southward, in places not occupied by the English." In the next July "divers Gentlemen were authorized to discover the mountains." Happy "gentlemen" to have leave to explore in the alluring midsummer, the blue mountains of Virginia! In March 1658 the Assembly granted permission to Major William Lewis, Mr. Anthony Langston and Major William Harris "to discover the mountains in the westward parts of the country."

A spirit of progress and improvement was in the air. In 1656 the General Assembly declared that "Whereas by experience silke will be the most profitable comoditie for the countrey . . . that everie proprietor of land within the colony shall for everie one hundred acres of land plant ten mulberry trees." In the same year the Assembly gave "George the Armenian" four thousand pounds of tobacco, to encourage him in his silk making and to induce him to "stay in the country and continue the same."

Now let us journey across the ocean and across the years, to the thinly settled parish of Little Gidding, Huntingshire, with its spacious old manor house and, near by, its tiny church—which was long used as a barn. To this "Protestant Monastery," as it has sometimes been called the Ferrer family retired after the downfall of the Virginia Company of London, to spend the rest of their lives in charity and devotions. Here Nicholas and John Ferrer, their mother, John's wife and others of their kindred took turns in holding religious exercises in the church and house throughout the twenty-four

hours. They did not forget far away Virginia, where they still had plantations, and became deeply interested in the attempts at silk production there. On Christmas Eve 1626, a daughter was given to John Ferrer and his wife. She was baptized on Christmas Day and John has recorded the fact that his mother and brother Nicholas named her Virginia, so that "speaking unto her, looking upon her or hearing others call her by name they might think of both her and the colony at once." As she grew up she is said to have been "a great joy and delight to her family"—evidently partly on account of her interest in silk culture in Virginia which was celebrated in panegyric verse. One piece of this, signed "John Ferrer Jr.," contains a stanza showing the hope that silk would supplant tobacco, in the colony:

Now from Smoak Virginia shall be rayseed
And throughout the world be duly prayseed
And blest be God that in his due time
This silken Light apparently doth shine.

Another piece is addressed:

TO THE HONORE'D LADY MRS.
VIRGINIA FERRER ON HER NEW
DISCOVERY OF THE SILK-TRADE
IN THOSE PARTS OF WORLD.

Its stanzas contain the names of many of Virginia's letter friends in the colony. She conducted her father's correspondence with Virginians until his death in 1657 and among gifts from them mentioned in their letters are skins of animals, "a flying hart's head and horns," a "rattlesnake's rattles," a "Crowne of a bird," a "young live turtel in a bottel," "an Indian basket and three Indian pipes," a "sea tree," "an oyster pearl," "a roote for youre father with, as I am towld a great verture in it." "The Reformed Virginia Silkworm," published in "Force's Tracts," keeps forever green the memory of this notable English gentlewoman and her interest, till her death, in 1688, in Virginia—whose name she bore.

In 1657-8 the Assembly offered to any person in the colony who should make silk, flax, hops, or any other staple (except tobacco) worth two hundred pounds sterling, or English wheat worth five hundred pounds, in one year, and export

same, "or shall first make two tunne of wine raised out of a vineyard made in this Collonie" a premium of ten thousand pounds of Virginia tobacco. "What person soever shall first make one hundred pounds of wound silke in one yeare within this collony shall for so doeing be paid ffive thousand pounds of tobacco out of the public levie."

This year (1657-8) was one of victory for Cromwell abroad and of failure of his administration at home. There was constant discontent in Great Britain. On August 6, 1658 Oliver lost his favourite daughter and soon afterward became ill himself. He died on the last day of September, after naming, on his death bed, his son Richard, his successor. In January 1659, met a new Parliament which supported Richard. In April the soldiers forced Richard to dissolve Parliament. On May 7, at the invitation of the soldiers, a portion of the Long Parliament met and declared all of Oliver Cromwell's acts illegal. The whole of England was in a state of consternation and confusion. On May 25, Richard Cromwell abdicated. A new Royalist uprising was defeated. The soldiers kept Parliament from sitting, and quarrelled among themselves. Finally, on December 26, 1659, the officers restored the "Rump" Parliament—the one which Cromwell had weeded out. On January 1, 1660, General Monk, commanding in Scotland, determined to put an end to anarchy in England and crossed the border. On February 3, he entered London. On the sixteenth, he declared for a free Parliament and on March 16, the Long Parliament finally adjourned. The sentiment for recalling the exiled King was predominant and, on May 25, 1660, Charles II landed in England. In the meantime Virginia was in a "distracted state" on account of conflicting opinions between the Governor and Council and the Burgesses. The records show the following:

"James Citty, April the 1st, 1658. The Governour and Councill for many important causes do think fitt hereby to declare That they do now dissolve this present Assembly and that the Speaker accordingly do dismiss the Burgesses." The order is signed by Governor Samuel Mathews, Secretary William Claiborne, and the Councillors.

The Burgesses promptly but respectfully answered, denying the power of the Governor and Council to dissolve them.

The Governor and Council replied that "upon assurance of a speedy issue to conclude the acts so near brought to a confirmation" they were willing "to referre the dispute of the power of dissolving and the legality thereof to His Highness the Lord Protector." The Burgesses declared the reply of the Governor and Council unsatisfactory and proposed "That the Governor and Councill please to declare, 'The House remains undissolved that a speedy period may be putt to the publique affaires.' " The Governor and Council replied: "Upon your promise received of the speedy and happy conclusion, Wee revoke the declaration for the dissolution of the Assembly, And referre the dispute of the power of dissolving and the legality thereof to his Highness the Lord Protector." The House still dissatisfied, appointed a committee to draw a resolution asserting their power. The committee composed of Colonel John Carter and six others reported: "That wee find by the records, The present power of government to reside in such persons as shall be impowered by the Burgesses (the representatives of the people) who are not dissolvable by any power now extant in Virginia but the House of Burgesses."

That second of April 1658 was an exciting day at Jamestown. Before it was over the Burgesses declared that they had, "in themselves full power of election and appointment of all officers of the colony." To manifest this power they declared all former elections to be "void and null," but immediately reappointed Samuel Mathews governor and (on the next day) made him take a new oath of office. They ordered Secretary Claiborne to deliver up all the records of the colony and appointed Col. John Carter and Mr. Warham Horsmanden (another refugee royalist) to receive the same in the name of and on behalf of the General Assembly and to give Col. Claiborne a full receipt and discharge." But the Secretary and Councillors were also at once reappointed—having been nominated (in accordance with an act of Assembly) by the Governor, and approved by the House.

During the Assembly meeting the following March, Colonel Colclough and Giles Webb were sent to acquaint the Governor's honour that the "House attended his pleasure." Governor Mathews came in and caused to be read a letter to him from the President of the Lord Protector's Council. It announced Oliver Cromwell's death, told of his solicitude for the welfare of the colony and the benefits which would have been given the colony if his life had been spared, announced the proclamation of Richard Cromwell as his successor and requested that he be proclaimed in Virginia—which was done.

Now see Sir William Berkeley, as ardent a royalist as ever, come out of his retirement at "Greenspring" and once more tread the boards of the Virginia stage. Governor Mathews died in January 1659. The first act of the Assembly which met at Jamestown the following March 13, declared that "WHEREAS by reason of the late frequent distractions (which God in his mercy putt a suddaine period to) there being in England noe resident absolute and generall confessed power. . . . That the supream power of the government in the colony be resident in the Assembly."

The second act made Sir William Berkeley Governor and Captain General of Virginia and ordered that he govern "according to the auncient laws of England and the established laws of this country." According to Burk, Beverley, and other early historians Berkeley was recalled to office by a popular uprising. Hening and the above Act of Assembly seem to disprove this, but in the records of Lower Norfolk County has been found an order of Governor and Council which shows Berkeley as Governor on March 9, 1659-60, four days before the meeting of the Assembly which elected him. There is no evidence as to how or by whom he was elected but the early historians must be right in saying the people put him into office—an action caused, doubtless, by the last news from England that there was no settled government there except what was being exercised by Monk's Army. According to tradition, Charles II was proclaimed in Virginia at this time but there is no corroborative evidence.

One of the few private letters illustrating this period sent

from England to anyone in the colony (and preserved) is that of Francis Wheeler, "for his very Loving ffather Mr. Francis Wheeler living at Queen's Creek in Virginia." Francis Sr. was a tobacco planter of the neighbourhood soon to become the site of Williamsburg, Francis Jr. a tobacco dealer of London. The letter bears date London, December the 29th, 1659. After some business discussion, young Wheeler writes of "another overturne in the Government of this nation; ye soldyers turned out ye last Long Parliament & for a while wee were without any settled Government but ye sword . . . had not ye good hand of the Lord prevented what was feared, for aught I know this Citty might be turned into Ashes & the streets running with blood. The soldyers they are divided one against another & the people they are divided some for one government some for another & how long thus a kingdome divided against itself can stand I know not. . . . Father I think it would be convenient for you to keepe a plantation & something in Virg'a, the times being soe dangerous here."

CHAPTER XXI

VIRGINIA'S LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE CAUSES OF BACON'S REBELLION

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY thanked the Burgesses for re-electing him Governor, in a brief, dignified address, in which he expressed desire for the Council's concurrence in his appointment. On March 19, 1660, he addressed a long letter to the Assembly signed, "Your most Humble and Affectionate friend and Servant," advising that they "make choice of one who hath more vigorous qualities to manage and support your affaires, and who hath more dexterity to untie those knotts which I can neither unloose nor breake amongst the Council."

On March 21, the Council concurred and the Governor made a short speech in acknowledgment, saying, in part: "You have given me a great Treasure, but in vaine, except you helpe me to carry it to a place of safetie; you have raised a high expectation of me, but you must intrust and prompt me how to satisfye it; you have layd high honours on me, but except you helpe to support me under them they will sink me into disgrace." He went home and some weeks later was transported with joy by the arrival on an English ship of a packet bearing the King's arms. It was nothing less than His Majesty's commission reappointing him Governor and Captain General of Virginia. His conscience had evidently been whipping him for his submission to Cromwell and now in a letter signed: "Your Majesties most Humble, most Dutifull, Loyal & Obedient Subject, Servant and Creature," he apologized and accepted the office. He dramatically declared, "I doe most humbly throwe myselfe at your Ma'ties feet, in a dutifull thankfullness to your Majestie, that you yett think me worthy of your Royal Commands."

So Berkeley's reign as Governor of Virginia began before that of Charles II as Monarch of England. Charles was proclaimed on his birthday, May 29, 1660, but not till four months

later did the slow-footed news reach Virginia. The whole colony was at once in a joyous hubbub. "Long live Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia!" was shouted from one end of it to the other, in obedience to Governor Berkeley's command: "Given at James Citty under my hand this 20th of September, sixteen hundred and sixty," that His Majesty be proclaimed in every county in Virginia. In addition to the jubilant shouts and cheers there was sound of trumpets and guns and every kind of noise that the people could contrive to make. And there was drinking of healths and uproarious laughter and singing and dancing and hugging and kissing-a-plenty, in the fields and along the roads, and everywhere tossing up of hats, with yells of "The King! the King!"

Of course Jamestown, as the place of official proclamation, was the centre of merrymaking, but there were celebrations everywhere. In York County, for instance, Edward Ramsey was paid a hundred pounds of tobacco to "fetch" Col. William Claiborne, Secretary of State, from his home at West Point and John Poteat a hundred pounds for his boat to "fetch" him in. To "ye honourable Governor" was paid 996 pounds for a barrel of gunpowder, holding 112 pounds. Captain Fox received 900 pounds of tobacco for "six cases of drams" and 500 pounds for his "great gunnes," "Mr. Hansford" 3604 pounds for 211 gallons of cider and the kegs that held them. "Ye trumpeters" were given 800 pounds for their music and the Rev. Philip Mallory 500 pounds for his service of thanksgiving.

At Jamestown the Assembly in the wild jubilation of the occasion (and doubtless at Sir William's suggestion) voted "great gifts" for various services—chiefly to former cavalier officers. They gave 22,000 pounds of tobacco to Major General Mainwairing Hammond, for carrying an address to the King asking pardon for the colonists for living quietly under the Commonwealth, 6600 pounds to Col. Guy Molesworth (who had on his body twenty-five wounds received in the King's service) 11,000 pounds to Sir Henry Moody for an embassy to Manhattan and 6000 pounds to Henry Soane as acknowl-

edgment of his great services—as Speaker of the House. Doubtless stately compliments were exchanged when the Burgesses were pleased to present those of high degree with such bonuses, but the grace and charm of the act were not long perceptible to the eyes of the People who, enjoying neither the gifts nor the honour of presenting them, were taxed to pay the piper. They shook their heads harder still when at the next session the Burgesses voted each member of the House 150 pounds of tobacco a day and expenses going to and from Assembly, and a year or two later when they added the cost of a manservant and two horses apiece—apparently for the entire session. Remember, all taxes of the Assembly were imposed *per capita* until long after the end of the century, though, by Act passed in 1670, only land holders and householders could vote. The Virginians were again under both the King and their cavalier Governor, but all too soon the “tumult and the shouting” changed to the melancholy cry of *hard times* which made itself heard throughout Virginia—a cry which in whatsoever country or time it be raised gives rise to discontent with the government.

Among their earliest grievances were the Navigation Acts the first of which was adopted by the Commonwealth Parliament in 1651 and, to their horror, re-enacted by the first Parliament after the Restoration. It required that only English vessels could import goods into England with the exception of vessels belonging to the country whose products they carried. Therefore, as tobacco was not a Dutch product Dutch ships could not carry it to England, or elsewhere. This cut Virginia off from the tobacco market of Holland, where higher prices were paid for it, and manufactured goods were cheap, and caused a rise in freight rates on English ships and a still further reduction of the tobacco planter's small receipts. The Virginians complained bitterly and none of them more so than the Governor. In his celebrated report of 1671, he describes as “mighty and destructive that severe act of Parliament which excludes us the having any commerce with any nation in Europe but our own.”

Other disappointments in “his blessed majesty” were to

come. While Charles had been in exile, some of his courtiers prayed of him a grant of the Northern Neck of Virginia—that fertile region between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers now associated with the names of Washington, Lee, Marshall, Monroe, and others of Virginia's favourite sons. The King, forgetful of the loyalty of England's first colony and ignoring the rights of those in possession of the coveted lands, granted their request. As he then had no power, the grant was a mere scrap of paper, but soon after his Restoration the Assembly learned that there was danger that a company might be formed which would be given control of the colony. So this was the kind of reward an idolized sovereign was to make for the faithful allegiance of Virginia!

In terror the Assembly of March 1660-61 decided to send Berkeley to England as the colony's agent, to "oppose the invaders of our freedoms and truly to represent our condition to his sacred Majestie." To meet the expenses of the commission it enacted that 200,000 pounds of tobacco be raised. Even at the low price of Virginia's staple this was an enormous sum, but it was known that bribery and corruption were a matter of course at the Court of this "blessed Majesty" and that nothing could be accomplished there without money. Raising such a sum meant special taxation and the tithable polls (all males over sixteen years of age) were already taxed nearly to starvation point. Francis Moryson was appointed Governor to act during Berkeley's absence. The same Assembly, apologetic as Berkeley himself for having surrendered to Cromwell's forces, and uneasy lest Charles bring heavy punishment on Virginia, decreed that "Whereas our late surrender and submission to that execrable power that soe bloodily massacred our late King Charles the First of ever blessed and glorious memory hath made us, by acknowledging them, guilty of their crime, to shew our serious and hearty repentance and detestation of that barbarous act, Be itt enacted that the 30th of January, the day the said King was beheaded, be annually solemnized with fasting and prayers that our sorrows may expiate our crime and our teares wash away our guilt." They decreed, moreover, that

May 29 be celebrated "as a holy day, being his present Majesty's birthday and also the day of his Restoration."

Berkeley sailed for England April 3, 1661, taking the King a present from himself and his people of Virginia silk. He found London, as he had left Virginia, at the height of joyous celebration of the King's coming into his own. If he expected to be treated with special favour by Charles II, to whom he had been so faithful, he was vastly disappointed. In a letter to Lord Arlington soon after his arrival he says he has received His Majesty's gracious acceptance of the present and that the senders have "laid up vows in their hearts to so improve their skill in that excellent work that they shall in a few years be able to make him a far greater present." He adds that his salary is "less than any other governour's of America, though the King has more revenue from Virginia than all the islands [Bermuda and the West Indies] put together." He petitions the King for the Customs of a ship of tobacco to enable him "to wait on your Majesty's royal person one half year, hoping that your Majesty, God's vice-regent, will imitate your great exemplar, God, and reward good intentions."

From Whitehall came this cold, sarcastic answer: "Sir William Berkeley shall have a ship of tobacco of 300 tons, customs free, when he shall send or bring over a ship of the same burthen laden with silk, hemp flax, pitch and potashes, the produce and growth of Virginia." He is ordered to "repair speedily to his government." This from the King he had idolized and idealized—the King who could dip so deeply into the royal treasury to gratify whims of court favourites! However, the Council of Foreign Plantations had a debate on Sir William's "petition and proposals concerning promotion of silk, hemp, flax, potash and timber for shipping" and ordered that his salary of £1000 sterling per annum be paid him, as formerly, and that two shillings per hogshead of tobacco be continued.

Sir William was a man of parts. During his stay in London a play by him, entitled "The Lost Lady" was acted and we may be sure he was in the audience, with all his ruffles and

curls. Pepys saw the play twice. The first time it did not please him—evidently because he was “troubled” that some of his office clerks saw him in a shilling seat, when they were in half crown seats. His diary says: “The second time it pleased me more.”

Berkeley came home to Virginia in December, 1662. As the threatened Company he was sent over to oppose was never heard of again his mission must have been successful.

Sir William was one of the colonists ardently interested in Virginia's production of staples other than tobacco—especially of silk and linen—and spent freely from his own purse to promote these industries. He made many attempts to get skilled flax and silk workers from Europe to train Virginians in their arts. In 1665 he wrote the English Secretary of State of having lost £1000 sterling for want of experienced flaxmen. In 1668 the Governor, Council, and Burgesses sent the King a present of three hundred pounds of silk. Berkeley was overjoyed at his Majesty's gracious letter of thanks, saying that the silk would be used for his “own royal person.” He replied that when he could go to England he would cast himself at His Majesty's feet and pray permission to make a journey to France and Italy to find silk-workers for Virginia. According to the *News Letter*, London, October, 27, 1668, the King ordered the Virginia silk “to be wrought into bed furniture for his own use.” About this time, as a result of the Assembly's offer of a bounty for planting mulberry trees, Major Thomas Walker of Gloucester, planted over seventy thousand of them and quantities of them were planted by others. In 1671 Berkeley sent to their lordships of the Privy Council a “patterne” of Virginia silk, “as we now make it,” and promised the King sixty or seventy pounds made in his own house. He writes that if the colonists had skilful men from France or Italy to teach them silk making he is confident that in ten or fifteen years they could send to England “Five hundred Bayles Yearely. . . . But poor men who can hardly maintain themselves in coarse clothes with their utmost industry in what they know,” could with difficulty be made to try more delicate work without training by experts. “This is that which

has so long retarded this hopeful and honourable commodity, silke." A short time before this Berkeley had written to Lord Arlington recommending for the place of Auditor General of Virginia (one of the royally appointed offices) Ex-Governor Edward Digges—"who fifteen years since showed us how to wind silk." Digges had imported two Armenians skilled in silk making. His epitaph at "Belfield," in York County, records his interest in the Virginia silk industry. A small sample of the raw silk made at "Denbigh," his Warwick County estate, is owned by the Virginia Historical Society. The desired French and Italian silk workers were never sent over.

Among the instructions Berkeley received in England was an order to "take especial care that Almighty God be devoutly and duly served throughout the government, the Book of Common Prayer, as now established, read and the Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England."

A problem of the very beginning of the Restoration period was that of enforcing conformity to the Established Church, disloyalty to which was thought to be part of disloyalty to the King, and therefore an enormous sin. Far the most numerous and determined non-conformists were the Quakers, described by Act of Assembly in 1659, as an "unreasonable and turbulent sort of people who taught lies, miracles, false visions, prophecies, and doctrines, and would leave it to the caprice of every vain and vicious person whether men shall be safe, laws established, offenders punished and governors rule." Laws forbidding Quaker meetings grew more stringent, but with little effect, for there were many Virginians who were fascinated by the purely spiritual nature of a religion which made no aesthetic appeal in form or in word, and the laws against them were as hard to enforce as is the present prohibition amendment. If all the breaches of laws against Quakers had been punished by fine, it would have been impossible for them to pay and if non-payment of fines had been punished by imprisonment, all the jails in Virginia would have been overflowing. The Quakers' rule of being no respecters

of persons expressed itself in insults to the clergy and other men in authority. Ministers were called "hirelings" and churches "steeple houses." The Rev. Justinian Aylmer asked Thomas Bushrod, a prominent Quaker of York County, to bring his wife to church. Bushrod, in reply, called the Minister "an ugly lying knave and rogue," adding, "Rev. Philip Mallory and yourself are a couple of Episcopal knaves. . . . The Quakers shall and will continue their meetings; they will meet next Sunday, and my wife shall be there." He dared Mr. Aylmer or Augustine Warner (prominent Councillor, whom he called a "rogue" and a "dog") or any other person to disturb them. The Quakers' habit of keeping up "constant and secret correspondence with each other and separating themselves from the rest of the King's subjects," their meetings in the woods and in remotely situated private houses, aroused uneasiness. But the meetings went on. Later in the century toleration for public exercise of their religion was granted. They built meeting houses and for many generations were a considerable and valuable element of the population of the colony. During the period (1660-1676) of Quaker persecution, the Assembly passed several acts for improvement of conditions in the Established Church. Church attendance was made compulsory and no journeys were to be made on Sunday unless absolutely necessary. Several Acts were adopted for the founding of a college especially for the education of ministers, but for the benefit of laymen as well. The continued poverty of the colony prevented anything being done about this.

In 1665, in Accomac County, appeared a play commonly called "Ye Beare and ye Cubb"—the first dramatic entertainment of record in what is now the United States. On information of it given by one Edward Martin, the actors were summoned to court where they were made to give a dress performance of their play. The court doubtless enjoyed the change from the usual routine of trials for Sabbath breaking, attending Quaker meetings, over-charging guests at taverns, slanderous talk, drunkenness and the like. It found the play-

ers not guilty of any fault, dismissed the case and ordered that "Ye said Martin pay all ye charges in ye suit."

Sir William Berkeley was now an elderly man. He had served two terms as Governor during which—old bachelor though he was—his deep interest in the welfare of the colony, his gracious manners, his original turn of mind and piquant way of expressing himself and the good company and good cheer always to be found at "Greenspring," had made him intensely popular. He was now serving a third term, but what had altered him? Is the answer to be found in his letter to Lord Arlington (the English Secretary of State) in 1667, in which he writes that "Age and misfortunes have withered his hopes," and that "Ambition commonly leaves sober old age, but covetousness does not?" Was the devoted old royalist embittered by the eight years of submission to the Commonwealth government and by disappointment with his visit to England and with his King? Whatever the cause, Sir William came home to Virginia a changed man. To the last day he lived he was interesting, but he had become stern and selfish, haughty and unsympathetic. Clinging desperately to old-world traditions in a new country eager to form traditions of its own, the common people, whom his aristocratic soul despised, inspired him with distrust. Recognizing that ideas might be dangerous weapons in their hands he declared that "learning had brought disobedience into the world" and gave it as little chance as possible to bring disobedience to the English government or to himself in Virginia.

The General Assembly, which usually acted in accordance with Berkeley's views, deprived freemen of the suffrage and restricted it to the freeholders and householders. True, in a country where land was as cheap as in Virginia then, persons who had nothing were unqualified to vote, but the "poorer sort" regarded the restriction as oppressive. The Governor came back from England determined to have as few elections as possible. The new Assembly, composed almost entirely of his sympathizers, was so much to his mind that saying "Men were more valuable in any calling in proportion to their experience," he refused to permit a new election for

twelve successive years, though, as the two extant lists of 1663 and 1666 show, death and other causes made frequent changes in the personnel of the House. This "long parliament" became one of the chief grievances of the people, for they claimed that the Burgesses had ceased to represent anything but the Governor's interests. It is difficult to judge from the acts passed how true these charges were. One of them prohibited the Council from joining in voting taxes and others were said to be for the purpose of lightening taxation. Justices were stopped from levying taxes for their own expenses at Court, but this show of liberality is nullified by the fact that the Burgesses made no response in 1663, when the Governor and Council proposed that "the most equal way of payment of taxes by a levy upon lands and not upon heads." The ordinary routine legislation during these twelve years was neither worse nor better than that of any other Assembly.

And now occurred an event which caused the greatest imaginable panic among the people. The varied activities of the plantations made necessary the presence of many servants, quartered in small dwellings near the homes of their masters. A farm with its homestead and cabins or cottages for indentured white servants and negro slaves, its barns for corn and tobacco, smoke house for cured meats, its blacksmith's shop, and its houses for spinning, weaving, tanning leather, carpentry and other work was like a small, busy village. In these hard times it was impossible to know how much secret discontent was being nursed in the peaceful looking quarters or to be prepared against a possible uprising. In 1663, this grim fear took definite shape.

Some indentured servants living in Gloucester County (many of them said to be convicts) formed a plot to gather a force of themselves and other servants, march from plantation to plantation securing recruits and arms, go to the Governor and demand their freedom for the time they were still under bond to serve. If this should not be granted they intended to leave the country—according to some accounts—but from others it is certain that they intended to use force of arms. The plot was betrayed by one of the conspirators

named Birckenhead, and was promptly suppressed by militia. Of the plotters captured, four were hanged. The Assembly rewarded Birckenhead with his freedom and 5000 pounds of tobacco, and set aside September 13 as a holy day, in commemoration of Virginia's preservation from the Servants' Plot. Negroes were not involved in this plot.

Servants of the criminal class do not seem to have been sent to the colony in numbers large enough to excite alarm before the Restoration, but the arrivals evidently increased during the years immediately preceding 1670. In October 1705 the Assembly decreed that no person who had been convicted of a crime in England or any of its dominions or colonies should hold any office in Virginia. The Servants' Plot was never repeated and in May 1666, Governor Berkeley sent this pleasant word picture to Lord Arlington.

"We live after the simplicity of a past age. Indeed unless the danger of our Country gave our fears tongues and language we should shortly forget all sounds that did not concern the business and necessities of farms." The greatest impetus to production of commodities other than tobacco was the ruinously low price of the weed throughout the whole period we have been considering. Soon after the Restoration the drastic measure of a cessation of tobacco planting was attempted. The Planters and merchants of Virginia petitioned the King to prohibit tobacco planting there and in Maryland after June 1, 1663, "which will encourage the more staple commodities." Led heartily by Berkeley, the Council and the House of Burgesses, the Virginians made many later efforts to enter into an agreement with Maryland and North Carolina for a cessation of tobacco planting for a year. Such an agreement was finally made between the officials resident in the three colonies, but Lord Baltimore, in England, persuaded the Privy Council to order that there be no cessation. The Virginia Assembly remonstrated in vain against this breach of faith. In a desperate letter they reported to the King that the Maryland Assembly had "utterly rejected" their agreement adding: that "they beseech His Majesty to take the same into consideration." But word came back that there be "no cessa-

tion stint or limitation imposed on planting tobacco in Virginia or Maryland." A letter from Secretary Ludwell describes the indignation of the Virginians at this order.

A quarrel between Secretary Ludwell and Mr. Giles Bland who had come from England to manage a large plantation for his father, made a ripple of excitement to relieve the monotony of these trying times, and add spice to many a dish of gossip. The gentlemen had exchanged gloves in token that they would fight a duel. Bland thought he saw signs of Ludwell's showing the white feather and flew into a rage which expressed itself in violent language. Whereupon the Assembly requested the Governor to have Bland arrested for insulting the Secretary—"which is highly resented by the House." In Court, Ludwell charged Bland with "speaking scandalously of the Council and ignominiously, presumptuously and unworthily, nailing one of his [Ludwell's] gloves upon the State House door with a most false and scandalous libel." Bland was sentenced to "ask public pardon of the Secretary, give security for his good behaviour for the future and for payment of a fine of 500 pounds sterling [not tobacco] within two years, unless he get the same remitted by the Privy Council," in London.

In June 1665, Berkeley received commands from the King to make preparations for the defence of Virginia in case of a foreign war—militia to be trained, etc. In compliance with a positive order from the King in December following, the building of a fort at Point Comfort was directed, though a tax of 100,000 pounds of tobacco had been levied for a fort at Jamestown, with fourteen guns mounted on it. The Point Comfort fort would be much more expensive and less serviceable, for as Secretary Ludwell wrote to Lord Arlington, "at Jamestown, the inhabitants would be sufficient garrison to defend it without public charge, where the Assembly and all the great courts were held. A place fifty miles within the river . . . but the King's command to build a fort at Point Comfort prevented them." Ludwell "heartily wishes that the Governor and Council, who must necessarily have the most experience of what may be advantageous to the colony

might have something referred to their judgments." He mentions the necessity of having "one or two frigates to ride in the rivers because of the capes." Berkeley "humbly on his knees" implored the King to send a frigate to guard Virginia. Too soon the defences were needed, for the mismanagement of the profligate King, blindly worshiped by his far-away subjects, involved England in a war with Holland which lasted till 1667. Not only did a Dutch fleet enter the Thames, destroy men of war and remain for weeks master of the British Channel, but there was so little naval protection for commerce that many ships from Virginia were captured by Dutch warships and privateers, causing great loss to the planters. Some of the naval battles in this war were actually fought in Virginia waters. Secretary Ludwell wrote Lord Arlington on June 24, 1667, of being "almost distracted with grief for the misfortune fallen on us by an attempt made by the Dutch in four men of war, and a Doggeboat of eight guns, which on June 1 took a ship of London of twenty guns bound from Tangier hither. Captain Robert Conway, the master, fought them all two hours, killed seven and wounded twelve men, but being wounded himself and oppressed with men, he yielded. Then the ships sailed into the Capes." At the mouth of James River were twenty Merchantmen and an English frigate of forty-six guns which had lost her mast and was under repairs. Her captain and most of her crew were ashore and the Dutch burned her. Then they chased and captured most of the merchant ships. The Governor resolved to man a fleet from York River and to hasten to fight the Dutch. Seamen and soldiers were put aboard the ships in York River and the fearless Sir William, against the prayers and protestations of the Council, resolved to lead them and went on board the admiral ship. "Before the York River fleet could go out the Dutch fleet, after remaining six days, left." The Governor and Council wrote the King that "About 1200 men cheerfully offered to go on board the York River Fleet and attack the Dutch."

Admiral Crimson, Commander in Chief of the Dutch squadron "out of his noble disposition, and considering the

gallant defence Conway and his Company did make by fight before taken," gave them a small ship in which they sailed into York River.

When the King heard of the destruction of English ships by the Dutch fleet he wrote (Nov. 1665) to Governor Berkeley, ordering that the next spring "All ships as are to returne to our Kingdome of England and Ireland, Doe return in one Fleet, and that they sett Saile together with the first opportunity of winds after the first of Aprill." He sent the same orders to Maryland "soe that matters be Conserted between the governors of the two colonies and a common rendezvous be appointed for Virginia and Maryland ships to come to and set saile away together, and that the Admiral, Vice Admiral, and Real Admiral in their voyage doe keepe the afore-said Fleet together in good Order, That they Stand by and defend one another against the Enemy." He also ordered that "a good fort be with all possible speed built at the mouth of James River" for the security of shipping within it." Berkeley was ordered to "provide 20,000 pounds of biscuit to be always ready" and to "have the guns from the burnt ship *Elizabeth* mounted at Point Comfort and gunners appointed."

In a second letter, June 24, 1667, Secretary Ludwell says the colonists are doing what they can to build forts, but are very poor. The average crop of a man is 1200 pounds of tobacco at half a penny a pound—"the full average price. When all taxes are deducted from this amount, a very little will remain to a poor man who hath perhaps a wife and children to cloath and other necessarys to buy—truly soe much too little that I can attribute to nothing but the great mercy of God their loyalty to the King and their affections to the Governor (which are extraordinary) that keeps them from mutiny and confusion."

As if a foreign war were not enough, the colony, in the summer of 1666, declared war against the Doegs and Poto-macs, to avenge the murders of several persons "during the past four years."

The great London fire which began Sept. 2, 1666, gave the Virginians, to so many of whom London was "home," new

anguish and excitement. Governor Berkeley read them his letter describing its horrors and saying that the seas were so full of pirates that it was almost impossible for ships to cross in safety. Another letter, of December 3, brought great relief with its news that "Yesterday arrived the ship *Resolution* from Virginia, about 200 tons, laden with tobacco. She says all is well in Virginia and several ships are coming home of greater burden." Other news announced that "a Virginia fleet to Bristol (20 sail) arrived safely. Escaped the Dutch." On May 25, 1666, of the new year "About forty ships from Virginia arrived safely at Kinsale," on the south coast of Ireland. Exactly a week earlier there sailed from Virginia with the ship *Alexander* a fleet of "18 sail from Bristol with 144 cannon, 13 sail from other places with 72 cannon." In addition to the fort expressly ordered by the King at Point Comfort, forts were built near the mouths of all the Virginia rivers as protection for shipping and when the Indian war began, other forts were built on the frontiers. The forts seem to have been an especial cause of discontent to the mass of the people.

Now (in 1670) "Hear the mellow wedding bells!" They are ringing for the nuptials of the bachelor knight and cavalier Governor, Sir William Berkeley, aged sixty-four and his beautiful and fascinating thirty-six-year-old bride, Frances Culpeper, widow of the Honourable Samuel Stephens, late member of the Virginia Council and Governor of North Carolina. She is also a near cousin of Lord Culpeper, Governor-to-be of Virginia and (through the St. Legers) to the wife of Colonel William Byrd, first of his name in Virginia. All roads lead to Jamestown, which is in gala dress. Everybody in Virginia who possesses "holiday clothes" has them on. The cavaliers, from the bridegroom down, wear their richest apparel, their biggest wigs (which have but lately come into fashion), their best knee buckles and shoe buckles and their most genial smiles. At "Greenspring" the whole place is fragrant with spicey odours that escape from the big kitchen, where all the pots and kettles are bubbling and singing and

their lids dancing to the music they make, while the ovens quietly keep their savoury secrets, but for such hints as the aforementioned fragrance gives out. There is music of trumpet and drum and firing of guns—though it is necessary to be sparing in the use of powder, with rumours abroad of another war with Holland. If Lady Berkeley did not live ever after she proved a staunch and faithful wife and champion of Sir William's as long as *his* life lasted, and, according to the English custom where a woman with a title marries a gentleman minus one, continued to be known by his name after she became the bride of his successor, Mr. Philip Ludwell. A fragment of her tomb remains in Jamestown Churchyard with just this much of the inscription left: Lady Frances B. . . .

The colonists had never forgotten their hope of finding a short road from Virginia to the Orient. In September 1671, Major Gen. Abraham Wood granted to Thomas Batte, Thomas Woods, and Robert Fallam, a commission "for finding out the ebbing and flowing of the water behind the mountains, in order to the discovery of the South Sea." Fallam kept a journal, which makes this expedition the first recorded passage over the Appalachian Mountains. Accompanied by Jack Nesan (formerly an indentured servant of General Wood's) and Perecute a "great man" of the Appomattox tribe, the party set out on horseback from Appomattox town (now Petersburg) on September 1. Flaming plumes of golden rod and here and there a spray of crimson leaves prophesied that the time of the falling leaf was near. They rode due west from the Okenechee path, evidently by a well beaten Indian trader's trail, as they made a hundred and twenty-five miles the first three days. This brought them to Sapony Town where they were "joyfully and kindly recieved, with firing of guns and plenty of provisions." On the seventh day they "had a sight of the mountains." On the eighth they came to "a Tree mark't in the past with a coal M.A. NI." These burned initials showed that they were not the first white men who had been along that trail. On the ninth they made "a steep descent . . . at the foot whereof stood the Toteria Town (present

Salem) in a rich swamp between the Roanoke River and one of its branches, and circled about with mountains." Here they were "exceedingly civilly entertained" (by the Totera Indians). On the thirteenth they climbed a great mountain so steep that "we could scarce keep ourselves from sliding down again." At the top, they "set down very weary" to wonder at the "very high mountains lying to the north and south as far as we could discern. . . . It was a pleasing though dreadful sight to see the mountains and Hills as if piled one upon another." Fallam's word picture of them, gazing over this sea of mountains recalls Cortez—"silent upon a peak in Darien"—looking out over the vast waters of the Pacific. After their descent, about three miles of walking brought them to two trees, one "marked with a coal, MA NI, the other MA, and several other scratchments." On the fourteenth "Mr. Batte supposed he saw some sayles" (On the South Sea?) but, says Fallam, "I rather think them to be white cliffs." On the seventeenth they decided to start on the home stretch—after marking with marking irons four trees in a row, to show how far they had been. "We first proclaimed the King in these words: 'Long live Charles the Second, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Virginia and of all the Territories thereunto belonging,' firing some guns." The first tree was marked with the King's initials, the second with those of Sir William Berkeley, the third with those of General Wood, the last with those of Batte and Fallam "and P. for Perecute, who said that he would be an Englishman."

Thomas Woods had fallen sick and died on the way. The point reached was Peters' Falls, in the present Giles County, where New River breaks through Peters' Mountain—a spot of entrancingly beautiful scenery. When they reached the Toteras' town again they found their horses which had been left there, and were given "news of Mr. Byrd and his great company's Discoveries three miles away." This was William Byrd I (father of the founder of Richmond) who though then but a youth of nineteen was regarded as General Wood's chief rival in the attempt to open the great western country.

After Wood's death, Byrd was the best informed man in the colony concerning western matters.

All too soon after the Berkeley wedding festivities, arose the old cry of "hard times" and complaints against the government. The Governor was still continuing the "long parliament" which deprived the people of their right to elect a new Assembly to represent them and right their wrongs. Evidently in reply to an inquiry from the English Secretary Williamson, Colonel Henry Norwood, one of the most intimate of Berkeley's cavalier guests at "Greenspring," and one of those under the heaviest obligations to his host, had written, in 1667, that as far as he could gather the colonists' discontent was caused by "the extreme and grievous taxes; two millions pounds of tobacco raised for building forts at the heads of the Rivers upon many new plantations; injuries done in the Courts through the Governor's passion, age, or weakness, the great sway of the Council over the Assembly: the Governor licensing some [probably his agents or partners] to trade with the Indians, and not timely suppressing their incursions."

Colonists charged that "The Governor for the lucre of the Beaver and Otter trade &c., with ye Indians rather sought to protect the Indians than them. Since after public Proclamation prohibiting all trade with the Indians (they complaine) hee privately gave commission to some of his Friends to truck with them and that those persons furnished the Indians with Powder, Shott &c. soe that they were better provided than his Majestye's subjects." The author of a "Complaint from Heaven, with a Huy and Crye and a Petition out of Virginia and Maryland," charged that "Old Governor Barkly altered by marrying a young Wyff from his wonted public good, to a covetous Fole-age, relished Indians presents with some that hath a like feelinge, so wel, that many Christian's Blood is Pokketed up with other mischievs, in so mutch that his lady tould that it would bee the overthrow of ye Country." "Bullets cannot pierce beaver skins" was a cryptic but clearly understood saying of the time. Another charge was of "Great quantities of tobacco Raised for the

building of forts & yet no place of defence in ye Colony sufficient to secure his Majesties poore subjects from the Fury of Foreign invaders."

And now a new war between England and Holland! In April 1673 came an order from the King that the colony and ships trading to it be put in readiness for defence against the Dutch. Governor Berkeley had written to England a month before that an unusually hard winter had destroyed more than half the colonists' cattle and "the few ships that have come have not brought a fifth part of the goods and tools necessary." He added that there was "extreme want of ammunition. On July 11, eight Dutch men of war, from thirty to forty-six guns a ship, with one fire-ship, attacked a Virginia fleet near Point Comfort, capturing and burning eleven ships which ran aground before they could get under protection of the forts, where the rest of the fleet was saved. Captain Gardner (in command of the two English frigates which had been sent to guard Virginia shipping) "by his resolute and good behaviour gained from friends and enemies an honourable report." On the next day the Dutch fleet slipped within the Capes and anchored in Lynnhaven Bay. It was discovered by sentinels and "speedy advice given the captains who commanded the King's ships in Virginia." Whereupon the Dutch fleet sailed north and soon afterward captured New York.

The Virginia Indians had become allies of the colonists but those from the northern tribes continued to make the most savage incursions upon them and terror-stricken planters upon the frontiers and more exposed places deserted their homes, left their crops to waste and ruin and huddled together in the more sheltered places, not knowing "upon whom the storm would light." They gathered around their firesides, still shivering with fright, and repeated to one another the ghastly stories of the way these hostile red men were said to serve their victims—such as flaying them alive, knocking out their teeth with clubs and tearing out their finger nails and toe-nails. The most hopeless feature of it all was that the Governor whom they had almost worshiped for a genera-



Photograph by H. P. Cook

MAVERN HILL, VIRGINIA. THE RESIDENCE OF THE COCKE FAMILY FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

tion, seemed to have lost his affection for them and to be deaf to their cries for protection.

More disastrous than blows of Indian clubs was that dealt them by their King who, in February 1673, made a grant to Lords Arlington and Culpeper, giving them the whole of Virginia for thirty-one years, with almost all the powers the kings had possessed. They were given all escheats forfeitures, and the quit rents, empowered to grant lands, to confirm former grants (thus leaving the Virginians at the mercy of the proprietors), to establish counties, parishes, and towns, to build and endow churches and schools, to present ministers, appoint sheriffs and other officers, to establish fairs and markets, to erect manors and manorial courts. Though the rights of persons already owning land were protected, the immense powers given to men whose only object was to make as much profit as possible out of the colony were full of dangers to every resident of Virginia.

The first act of Assembly of 1674 outlined in strong terms the evils of the grant, besought the King to withdraw it, directed that agents be sent to England to endeavour to protect the colony's interests, and, as money would be absolutely necessary in carrying out of their commission, enacted that a tax of fifty pounds of tobacco per poll be levied for two years in succession, the total proceeds to be deposited in England for the use of the agents—Colonel Francis Moryson, Secretary Thomas Ludwell, and Major General Robert Smith. Of course the people groaned.

The negotiations were long and difficult and displayed, says Campbell, "evidence of signal diplomatic ability, together with elevated and patriotic views of colonial rights and constitutional freedom." The agents succeeded in inducing Arlington and Culpeper to surrender their grant—reserving to themselves only the quit rents (which a few years later were taken away from them, or bought, by the King); attempted, but failed to buy the Northern Neck grant and obtained a charter which would have been entirely satisfactory to the colonists—even including the provision, "That no manner of imposition or taxes shall be laid or imposed upon

the inhabitants and proprietors there but by the common consent of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses, as hath been hitherto used."

This charter was about to receive its final confirmation by the King when news of Bacon's Rebellion put an end to it.

CHAPTER XXII

BACON'S REBELLION

ON A Sunday morning in the summer of 1675, some Stafford County people on their way to church saw, as they passed the house of Robert Hen, the blood-stained bodies of Hen himself, and an Indian lying across Hen's doorstep. The Indian was dead and the white man, with his last breath gasped, "Doegs—Doegs."

Colonel Giles Brent, commander of the horse, and Colonel George Mason, commander of the foot soldiers of Stafford, gathered a force of some thirty men and gave chase to the murderers. They followed them up the Potomac River and then across into Maryland, firing upon all the red men they saw. In Maryland, Brent and Mason divided the men into two parties and continued their chase, taking different directions. Soon each party came upon and surrounded an Indian cabin. Brent shot the king of the Doegs in the cabin found by him and captured his small son. Shots were exchanged by the Indians within the cabin and the white men without. Then the Indians fled. The firing aroused the Indians in the other cabin and they fled with Mason's men following and firing upon them, until one of them turning back rushed up to Mason and shaking him by both hands said, "Susquehannocks—friends!" Whereupon Mason ran among his men, crying out:

"For the Lord's sake, shoot no more! These are our friends the Susquehannocks!"

Mason and Brent returned to Virginia, but as murders continued upon both sides of the Potomac, Maryland and Virginia raised a thousand men in the hope of putting a stop to the trouble. The Virginians were commanded by Col. John Washington (Great-grandfather of George) and Col. Isaac Allerton, son of a Mayflower Pilgrim. These troops laid siege to a stronghold of the Susquehannocks, in Maryland, during which they incurred bitter hatred by putting to death five

out of six Susquehannocks' "great men" sent to treat of peace. They claimed that they recognized in the "great men" some of the murderers of their fellow-countrymen. At the end of the siege, during which fifty of the colonists were killed, the Susquehannocks escaped from their fort in the night, "knocking on the head" ten of their sleeping foes, and crossed over into Virginia as far as the head of James River. Instead of notching the trees they left behind them a pathway marked by wounds upon the bodies of white men, women, and children.

Sir William Berkeley rebuked the besiegers before the Assembly, saying:

"If they had killed my grandfather and grandmother, my father and mother and all of my friends, yet if they had come to treat of peace they ought to have gone in peace."

Neither of the Virginia officers was responsible for the shabby piece of work.

Early in the new year a party of Indians made a raid upon the upper plantations of the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, massacred thirty-six persons, and fled to the woods. The Governor called a court and placed a competent force to march against them under command of Sir Henry Chicheley and some other gentlemen of Rappahannock County. When they were ready to set out, Berkeley withdrew the commission and ordered that the men be disbanded.

As a result the plantations in the neighbourhood of the massacre were in about a fortnight's space reduced from seventy-one to eleven. Some of the settlers had deserted their homes and taken refuge in the heart of the country, others had been destroyed by the savages.

Not until March did the Assembly meet to take steps for the safety of the colonists, three hundred of whom had by that time been cut off, and then, under Berkeley's influence, the only action taken was the establishment of forts, which afforded no real defence, as their garrisons were prohibited from firing upon Indians without special permission from the Governor, and were a new burden upon the people, who declared that their erection was "a great grievance, juggle and

cheat," and only "a design of the grandees to engross all of the tobacco into their own hands."

The Virginians resolved to raise forces amongst themselves, only they first craved of Sir William a commission for any commanders whom he should choose, to lead them in defence of their "lives and estates." He bluntly refused their request and forbade a repetition of it, "under great penalty."

The people's fears increased, for (they charged) after their Governor had prohibited all traffic with the Indians, some of his favourites had supplied them with the very arms and ammunition intended for the protection of the colonists against their savagery. The red men were thus better provided with arms than His Majesty's subjects. They resolved that since their petition for a commission to march against the Indians was denied them, they would march without a commission, thus venturing not only their lives, but the Governor's displeasure, for the sake of their firesides.

The dwellers in the neighbourhood of Merchant's Hope Plantation, in Charles City, now Prince George County, on James River, "began to beat up drums for Volunteers to go out against the Indians, and soe continued Sundry dayes."

Other times and other countries have had their leaders, their heroes, their martyrs, Virginia, in 1676, had her Nathaniel Bacon.

This young man was the son of an English gentleman, Thomas Bacon, of Friston Hall, a cousin of Lord Bacon and of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., President of the Virginia Council of State.

He was born on January 2, 1647, at Friston Hall, and was educated at Cambridge—entering St. Catherine's College there in his fourteenth year and taking his M.A. degree in his twenty-first. In the mean time he had seen "many Forraigne Parts." In 1664 he entered Grey's Inn. In 1674 he married Mistress Elizabeth Duke, daughter of Sir Edward Duke, who for reasons unknown opposed the match and provided in his will that his bequest of £2000 should be forfeited if she married "one Bacon." She and her second husband brought suit for a share in her father's estate but the

Lord Chancellor decided against her: "She being only prohibited to marry one man by name and nothing in the whole fair garden of Eden would serve her but this forbidden fruit." The bridal pair sailed for Jamestown, to make or mar their fortune in a new world, and soon made a home for themselves at "Curles Neck," twenty miles below the site afterward chosen by Colonel William Byrd for the City of Richmond—about forty miles above Jamestown. Their plantation afterward became famous in Virginia as one of the seats of the Randolphs. Bacon had a second plantation—"Bacon's Quarter" within the present Richmond, but his residence was at "Curles."

In Virginia, Bacon at once took a prominent part in public affairs, was made a member of His Majesty's Council, was soon known as the "most accomplished man in the colony."

Ere long it became apparent that the heart of this marked man was with the People. "If the redskins meddle with me, damn my blood," he cried—with what Governor Berkeley called his "usual" oath—"but I'll harry them, commission or no commission!" Soon enough the "redskins" did "meddle" with him, murdering his overseer, at Bacon's Quarter, and for want of a commission from the Governor to lead a campaign against the Indians he accepted one "from the people's affections, signed by the emergencies of affairs and the country's danger."

Though only twenty-nine years of age when he was called to take so large a part in the history of Virginia, Nathaniel Bacon looked to be "about four or five and thirty."

There is no portrait of him, but the Royal Commissioners, sent over after the Rebellion to "enquire into the affairs of the colony," give us the impression they gathered from all they heard of his appearance and manner. In their words, he was "indifferent tall but slender, black-haired, and of an ominous, pensive, melancholy aspect, of a pestilent and prevalent, logical discourse tending to atheism in most companies, not given to much talk, or to make sudden replies; of a most imperious and dangerous hidden pride of heart, despising the wisest of his neighbours for their ignorance and very am-

bitious and arrogant." He was a man born to sway the hearts of his fellows, upon which he could play with the sureness of a master of music touching the keys of a delicate instrument. Such was the man who declared his willingness to "stand in the gap" between the commonality and "grandees," and with true Patrick Henry-like devotion, to risk home, fortune, life itself, in the cause of freedom from tyranny.

One day a group of prominent Virginia planters and neighbours were talking about the "sadness of the times and the fear they all lived in." They were Captain James Crews, of "Turkey Island," Henrico County; Henry Isham, Colonel William Byrd I, and Nathaniel Bacon. They lived in the region most exposed and subject to the Indian horrors. Their talk turned upon the little army of volunteers that was collecting on the other side of the river. Captain Crews said he had suggested Bacon to lead the campaign. The other two joined him in urging Bacon to go over and see the troops, and finally persuaded him to do so. No sooner did the soldiers see him approaching than from every throat arose a shout of "A Bacon! A Bacon! A Bacon!"

His companions promised to serve under him, and without more ado he became "General Bacon, by consent of the people." In a letter to England, he wrote how, "Finding that the country was basely, for a small, sordid gain, betrayed, and the lives of the poor inhabitants wretchedly sacrificed," he "resolved to stand in this ruinous gap" and to expose his "life and fortune to all hazards." His quick and sympathetic response to their call "greatly cheered and animated the populace," who saw in him the "only patron of the country and preserver of their lives and fortunes, so that their whole hearts and hopes were set upon him." Volunteers crowded around him and he "listed" them "upon a large paper, writing their names circular-wise, that their ring leaders might not be found out." Having "conjured them into this circle," he "gave them brandy to wind up the charm," and drink success to the adventure, and had them to take an oath to "stick fast" to each other and to him, and then went on to New Kent County to "list the people thereabout."

It was about the end of April, 1676, that Nathaniel Bacon, at the head of three hundred men-in-arms, set out upon the Indian warpath. Berkeley, raging at their daring to take steps for their defence without a commission from him, proclaimed leader and followers "rebels and mutineers," and getting a troop of soldiers together, set out toward the falls of James River, in hot pursuit. The little army had already crossed to the south side of James River and was marching "through brush, through briar," toward the haunts of the savages, whither the Governor's train-bands had little appetite to follow.

He waited patiently their return, taking what satisfaction he could find in telling Madam Bacon that her husband would hang as soon as he came back, in issuing upon May 10, another proclamation against the "young, inexperienced, rash and inconsiderate General" and his "rude, dissolute and tumultuous" followers, and in deposing Bacon from his seat in the "honourable Council" and from his office as a magistrate.

Meanwhile, the three hundred pressed on through the wilderness. When they had marched into Carolina, and their supplies were nearly spent, they came upon a little island (probably in Roanoke River) seated by the Ockinechee Indians—one of the tribes said to have been protected by Berkeley for sake of the fur trade, and doubtless the same as the Mangoaks, rumours of whose great trade with the Indians of the northwest, for copper, had been brought to Sir Walter Raleigh's colony. They were very likely a branch of the great Dakota tribe and were a most enterprising people. Their isle, "commodious for trade, and the mart for all the Indians for at least five hundred miles" around, boasted at that time of a thousand beaver skins, of which Berkeley and his partners would soon, doubtless, have become possessed. It was believed to have been through trade with these Islanders that arms and ammunition were passed on to the warlike Susquehannock braves.

When Bacon reached the island he saw that it would be madness to pit his foot-sore and half-starved men against the

combined strength of the Ockinechees and Susquehannocks, so, adopting a policy patterned after their own methods of warfare, he made friends with one tribe and persuaded them to fall upon the other. The result was a furious battle in which thirty Susquehannock warriors and all of their women and children were killed. Bacon's men, sorely in want of provisions, offered to buy food from their new-made friends, the Ockinechees, who promised them relief on the morrow, but when the next day came talked of still another "morrow." They were evidently preparing for battle, had reinforced their three forts upon the island, and there came a report that they had received private messages from Governor Berkeley.

Bacon's men had "waded shoulder deep through the river," to one of the forts, "still entreating and tendering pay for the victuals." While they stood in the water, with hands stretched out, begging for bread, one of them was struck by a shot fired from the mainland. This proved the signal for a hideous battle. Bacon, knowing that retreat meant starvation for himself and his soldiers, believing that the savages within the fort had sent for others to cut them off in the rear, but not losing the presence of mind that armed him for every emergency, drew his men close against the fort, where their enemies could get no range upon them, and ordering them to poke their guns between the stakes of the palisades, fired without discrimination—without mercy. All through the night and until late into the next day the wilderness echoed with the yells of wounded and dying savages and with gun-shots of the hunger-crazed colonists.

Remember, this battle was the last resort of an army which championed the cause of the people of Virginia, upon whose steps the horrors of murder, torture, and starvation waited, and that the time was the seventeenth century, the place a wilderness, the provocation an attempt not merely to shut the Anglo-Saxon race from the New World, but to wipe out with hatchet and torch the Anglo-Saxon homes already planted there. When at last, after a loss of eleven of their comrades, the exhausted Baconians withdrew, the fort had been entirely demolished and vast numbers of the Indians slain.

While Berkeley at the Falls awaited Bacon's return, the inhabitants farther down toward Jamestown began to "draw into arms," and to proclaim against the forts. They vowed that they would make war upon all Indians who would not "come in with their arms" and pledge themselves to join with the English against all others. In a "Manifesto," Bacon replied to Berkeley's charges of rebellion and treason. "If virtue be a sin," said he, "if piety be 'gainst all the principles of morality, goodness and justice be perverted, we must confess that those who are now called rebels may be in danger of those high imputations. . . . But if . . . to plead the cause of the oppressed, . . . if after the loss of a great part of His Majesty's colony, deserted and dispeopled, freely with our lives and estates to endeavour to save the remainders, be treason, Lord Almighty judge and let the guilty die." Can it be that these words were in the mind of Patrick Henry, when, nearly a hundred years later, he cried, "If this be treason, make the most of it?"

Berkeley gave up for the time the chase after Bacon, returned home, and not only had the offensive forts dismantled, but upon the eighteenth of May, dissolved the legislature and for the first time in twelve years ordered the election of a new Assembly.

Bacon had now returned from his march and the countryside was ringing with his success against the Indians. The people welcomed him with wild enthusiasm, for they not only regarded him as their champion against the savages, but attributed to him the calling of the new Assembly, to which they looked for relief from hard times.

A short time before the meeting of this "June Assembly," Bacon made Captain Crews the bearer of a letter from himself to Sir William Berkeley, in which he said:

"Sir: Loyalty to our King and obedience to your Honor as His Majesty's servant or chief commander here, under him, was generally the preface in all my proceedings to all men, declaring . . . if that your Honour were in person to lead or command, I would follow and obey, and that . . . though I had no order, I would still adventure to go in defence of the country against all Indians in general, for that they were all our enemies; this I have always said and do maintain, but as to the injury or violation of your power, interest, or personal safety, I always accounted magistracy sacred and the justness

of your authority a sanctuary, I have never otherwise said, nor ever will have any other thoughts. . . ." He closed, "I am, in spite of all your high resentment, unfeignedly, your Honour's humble and obedient servant."

Henrico County chose Bacon and Crews to represent it in the new House of Burgesses. And so, accompanied by a body-guard of forty armed men, the newly elected Burgess set sail in a sloop for Jamestown. When he had passed Swan's Point, he dropped anchor and sent a messenger ashore to inquire if he might land and take his seat as a member of the Assembly. Governor Berkeley's answer was delivered from the mouths of "Great guns" on the town fort—whereupon Bacon moved his sloop higher up the river. After nightfall, accompanied by some of his men, he went to "Mr. Lawrence's house" in town, where he had an interview with his good friends Lawrence and Drummond. They were gentlemen of prominence and wealth and their houses were the best built and furnished in Jamestown. Lawrence, a scholar and a graduate of Oxford, known as "thoughtful Mr. Lawrence," represented Jamestown. Mr. Drummond, "a sober Scotch Gentleman of good repute," had been Governor of North Carolina.

Finding no hope of meeting with a more hospitable greeting from the Governor, the "Rebel" set his sails homeward; but, in obedience to Berkeley's orders, Captain Gardner, of the ship *Adam and Eve*, headed him off, by firing upon him, arrested him and his guard, and delivered them up to the Governor. Within the State House a bit of drama was then acted in the presence of the amazed Assembly—Berkeley and Bacon playing the principal parts—in which Bacon made a virtue of necessity, for he recognized that acceptance of Berkeley's proffered clemency as the likeliest way of obtaining a commission to continue his Indian campaign, and to gain admission to his seat in the Assembly.

The Governor said:

"Now I behold the greatest rebel that ever was in Virginia." Then, he asked the prisoner: "Sir, do you continue to be a gentleman, and may I take your word? If so, you are at liberty upon your own parole."

Bacon expressed deep gratitude.

Next day the Governor stood up in the Council, sitting as upper house of the Assembly, and said:

"If there be joy in the presence of angels over one sinner that repenteth, there is joy now, for we have a penitent come before us. Call Mr. Bacon."

Bacon entered and dropping upon his knee, presented his Honour with a paper which he had drawn up, pleading guilty of rebellion and throwing himself upon the mercy of the court. Berkeley declared, "God forgive you, I forgive you! God forgive you, I forgive you! God forgive you, I forgive you!" After the third time, Colonel Cole, of the Council, put in, "And all with him."

"Yea," quoth Sir William, "and all that were with him!"—meaning the Rebel's body-guard, captured in the sloop with him, and then lying in irons.

The Governor restored the culprit to his former place in "His Majesty's Council," promised him a commission to march against the Indians, and even let Captain Gardner be fined seventy pounds damage and in default of payment be thrown into jail, for seizing Bacon and his sloop, according to his own express orders. Bacon's friends had made "dreadful threatenings to double revenge all wrongs" to their champion and his guard; but now "every man with great gladness returned to his own home."

The Council chamber was upon the first floor of the State House, that occupied by the Burgesses upon the second. The Burgesses, as they filed upstairs to take their places, that afternoon, saw through the open door of the Council chamber, "Mr. Bacon on his quondam seat."

Bacon promptly set about revising the laws. Universal suffrage was restored, a general inspection of public expenses and auditing of public accounts ordered, and laws were enacted requiring frequent election of vestries by the people, prohibiting all trade with the Indians, long terms of office, excessive fees, and the sale of liquors. After the Rebel's death, when the fascination of a personality which had bent men's wills to its own was no longer felt, and when his name

was held in contempt by many who failed to understand him, the Virginians clamoured for "Bacon's Laws," which upon his downfall had been repealed; and many of them were re-enacted.

Berkeley finding it beyond his power to stem the tide of reformation which tossed the old man about like a leaf whose summer is past—pleaded sickness as an excuse to go home, but not until he had placed his signature to each one of the acts passed for the relief of the people would Bacon permit him to stir.

The Assembly devoted much attention to planning the Indian campaign to be carried on under "General Bacon," for which one thousand men with provisions were provided. It was also decided to enlist the aid of the Pamunkey Indians—descendants of Powhatan's braves—who had been allies of the English against other tribes. The "Queen of Pamunkey" was invited to appear before the Burgesses and say what she would do. She was the widow of the "mighty Totopotomoy" who had led a hundred warriors in aid of the English at the battle of "Bloody Run," and was slain with most of his men. When the chairman of the House addressed her she refused to answer except through the interpreter, though it was believed that she understood all that was said. Finally, when the interpreter told her that the House wished to know how many men she would lend her English friends for guides in the wilderness against her own and their "enemy Indians," she uttered, "with an earnest, passionate countenance, and a "high, shrill voice," a "harangue," in which the only intelligible words were, "Totopotamoy dead! Totopotamoy dead!" Colonel Edward Hill, whose father had commanded the English at the battle of "Bloody Run," and who was present, "shook his head." The House pressed her to say how many men she would lend. She finally answered, with a low, slighting voice (in her own language), *six*. But being further importuned, she said twelve . . . and so rose up and walked gravely away.

At length the Assembly's work was done and everything but one ready for the march against the Indians—the com-

mission which Berkeley had publicly promised Bacon, and for which Bacon tarried at Jamestown, was not yet forthcoming. The old man postponed granting it from day to day, while he secretly plotted Bacon's ruin. His plot was discovered by some of the friends of Bacon, who was informed that the Governor had given orders for him to be arrested again, and that road and river were beset with men lying in wait to assassinate him if he attempted to leave Jamestown. He took horse and made his escape through the dark streets of the sleeping town before sun-up. In the morning the party sent out to capture him actually thrust their swords through the beds in the house of Mr. Lawrence, to make sure he was not hidden in them.

When Bacon reached the "up country" the inhabitants crowded around him, clamoring for news of the Assembly and of his commission. When they learned the truth they "set up their throats in one common cry of oaths and curses." A rumour reached Jamestown that Bacon was coming back at the head of a "raging tumult," who threatened to pull down the town if the Governor's promises were not kept. Berkeley ordered four "great guns" to be set up at Sandy Beach—the only approach by land, to Jamestown—and all the men who could be mustered, only thirty in all, were called out to defend the town. Next morning the little capital rang with the call to arms, but the Governor resorted to the stratagem of seeking to disarm the foe by the appearance of peace.

The Assembly was calmly sitting on that June day when, without the slightest resistance, Bacon marched into Jamestown at the head of four hundred foot soldiers and a hundred and twenty horse. He stationed guards at all the "principal places and avenues," and then drew his men up in front of the State House where the Councillors and Burgesses were in session, and demanded the promised commission. At length, the Cavalier Governor arose from his chair, and stalking out to where Bacon stood, while the Council followed in a body, denounced him to his face as a "rebel" and a "traitor." Then, baring his bosom, shouted, "Here! Shoot me! 'Fore

God, a fair mark, shoot!" Drawing his sword, he next proposed to settle the matter with Bacon, then and there.

"Sir," said Bacon, "I came not, nor intend, to hurt a hair of your Honour's head, and as for your sword, your Honour may please to put it up; it shall rust in its scabbard before ever I shall desire you to draw it. I come for a commission against the heathen who daily, inhumanly murder us and spill our brethren's blood, and no care is taken to prevent it," adding, "God damn my blood, I came for a commission, and a commission I will have before I go!"

Bacon, his dark eyes burning, his black locks tossing, strode back and forth betwixt his two lines of men-in-arms, resting his left hand upon his hip, and flinging his right from his hat to his sword-hilt, and back again, while the Burgesses looked on breathless from the windows of the State House. The Governor wheeled about and, with haughty mien, walked toward his private apartment at the other end of the State House, the Council still close following him, while Bacon, in turn surrounded by his body-guard, followed them, continuing to gesticulate in the fashion described. Finally the Rebel swore another great oath and exclaiming, "I'll kill Governor, Council, Assembly and all, and then I'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's blood!" he ordered his guard to "Make ready, and present!"

In a flash the loaded muskets of the "fusileers" were pointed toward the white faces in the State House windows, while from the throats of the little army below arose a chorus of "*We will have it! We will have it!*" meaning the promised commission. A Burgess waving his handkerchief from the window, shouting, "*You shall have it! You shall have it!*" The tiny flag of truce worked a magic spell. The soldiers withdrew their guns, unclicked the match-locks, and quietly followed Bacon back to the main body of his men. One witness says that Bacon's men also shouted a chorus of, "No levies! No levies!"

After a long argument with Council and Burgesses, Governor Berkeley (next day) grudgingly drew up a commission and sent it out. Bacon, not content with it, dictated one to

his own mind and required the Governor to sign it, as well as thirty blank ones for officers to serve under him. Afterward, finding need of still more officers, he sent to Berkeley for more blank commissions, but the beaten old man bade "General Bacon" sign the rest for himself. However, he was made to sign a letter to King Charles excusing Bacon's course, and an act of indemnity for Bacon and his followers. The young General sat up all night long preparing the commissions, keeping the Burgess from Stafford, whom he had pressed into service as secretary, up with him.

In the midst of Bacon's little reign at Jamestown came the news that the Indians had swooped down upon two settlements on York River and had massacred eight persons. This was upon a Sunday, when the Virginians were doubtless rejoicing in a welcome rest from law-making, and, resplendent in apparel fashioned after the latest mode in England at the time when the ships that brought it over sailed thence, were offering thanks in the church for the promise of brighter days. Bacon ordered supplies to be taken to the Falls and next morning flags were unfurled, drums and trumpets sounded, and with the authority of the commission as "General of all the forces in Virginia against the Indians," and the God-speed of men, women, and children, he marched away at the head of his thousand troops. There was among those who witnessed the departure one who was silver-haired and full of years, but whose brilliant prime had been eclipsed by a narrow and crabbed old age. While every tongue but his was attuned to blessings, Sir William Berkeley was possessed by wrathful silence, resolved to bide his time till the aid from England, which he confidently expected, should arrive. He was in the meantime upon the lookout for any straw that could be caught at to stem the tide of his rival's popularity, and he soon found one.

The people of Gloucester had been irritated by the rigorous manner in which Bacon's officers impressed men and horses for the Indian campaign. Berkeley heard that the settlers there were loyal to him and would support him against Bacon. He hastened to Gloucester, where he was presented with a

petition complaining of the loss of men and horses drafted for the war. He answered that the petition would be "most willingly granted," for that, "Nathaniel Bacon, Jun., never had any commission from me but what, with armed men, he extracted from the Assembly . . . so that his commission is void in law and nature, and to be looked upon as of no value."

Berkeley began raising troops, ostensibly to go himself to fight the Indians, but really to attack Bacon. In the meantime, Bacon, in ignorance of the fresh trouble brewing for him, was marching on toward the Falls. They were reached ere long, and all was now ready for the plunge into the wilderness where the red horror lurked. He called his men together and assured them of his loyalty to England and that his only design was to serve his King and his country. He reminded them of the urgency of the time and the "cries of his brethrens blood that alarmed and wakened him to this public revenge." When he had finished speaking he took the oath of "allegiance and supremacy," in the presence of all his soldiers, had them to take it, and then gave them an oath of fidelity to himself.

The order to march was about to be given, when a messenger posted into camp with the news that Governor Berkeley was in Gloucester raising forces to surprise Bacon and take his commission from him. The young General, nothing daunted by this "amazing" message, promptly decided what he would do. Trumpet and drum again called his men together that he might inform them that ere they could further pursue the chase after their Indian enemy they must turn backward to meet the horrors of civil warfare.

"Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers," he said (in part). "The Governor is now in Gloucester County endeavouring to raise forces against us, having declared us rebels and traitors; if true, crimes indeed too great for pardon.

. . . "But they are all damned cowards, and you shall see they will not dare to meet us in the field to try the justness of our cause, and so we will down to them." A great shout arose from the soldiers. "Amen! Amen!" they cried. "We

are all ready to die in the field rather than be hanged like rogues, or perish in the woods exposed to the favours of the merciless Indians!" They wheeled about and marched, a thousand strong, to meet their pursuers.

But there was to be no battle. As soon as the Governor's men discovered that he had raised forces under pretence of going to aid in the Indian warfare, but really for the purpose of pursuing Bacon and (in true Indian-gift fashion) taking the commission away from him, they refused to obey marching orders, and setting up a cheer of "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon!" walked off the field still (it is written) muttering in time to their step, "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon!"

Berkeley, thus abandoned, "for very grief and sadness of spirit," fainted away in his saddle. Soon he heard that Bacon was marching toward Gloucester to meet him, and fled to the Eastern Shore, which, cut off as it is by Chesapeake Bay, had not suffered from the Indian horrors that had fallen upon the rest of the colony, and had remained loyal to the government.

"Now in vain (say the Royal Commissioners), the Governor attempts raising a force against Bacon; it was impossible, for Bacon at this time was so much the hopes and darling of the people that the Governor's interest proved but weak. . . . And so he was fain to fly to Accomac."

When Bacon reached Gloucester, to find "the Governor fled and the field his own," he marched boldly, to the "Middle Plantation," the very "heart and centre" of the colony, soon to be chosen as the site for its new capital—storied Williamsburg. Virginia, save the two Eastern Shore counties—Accomac and Northampton—was now in his power. After quartering his soldiers he issued a proclamation inviting everybody to meet him at the "Middle Plantation," and "consult with him for the present settlement of His Majesty's distressed colony, to preserve its future peace, and advance the effectual prosecution of the Indian War."

Came a great company of people. An oath was framed which bound them to aid with their lives and estates in the Indian war; to oppose the Governor, and to resist any forces

that might be sent from England to suppress Bacon, until time was allowed to acquaint His Majesty with the "grievances" of the colony and receive a reply.

The oath was read to the multitude by the clerk of the Assembly. A stormy debate, lasted from midday until midnight. Some feared the oath, especially the clause regarding resistance of the King's soldiers. Bacon, supported by many others, protested its innocency. He vowed that unless it were taken he would surrender up his commission to the Assembly, and "let them find other servants to do the country's work."

It was finally agreed to and administered by the regular magistrates in most of the counties, "none or very few" dodging it.

Bacon's position was made stronger by the arrival of the "gunner of York fort," with news that this, "most considerable fortress in the country," was in danger of being attacked by Indians. They had made a raid into Gloucester, massacring some of the settlers of the Carter's Creek neighbourhood, and a number of the terror-stricken people had fled to York for refuge, but Governor Berkeley had robbed the fort of its arms and ammunition, stowed them away in his vessel and taken them to the Eastern Shore.

Bacon made ready to resume his Indian campaign, but first, he seized Captain Larrimore's ship, lying in the James, manned her with two hundred men and guns and sent her under command of Captain Carver and Giles Bland, to arrest Sir William Berkeley for the purpose of sending him home to England to stand trial for his "demerits toward His Majesty's subjects of Virginia." Before leaving "Middle Plantation," he issued a summons, in the name of the King, and signed by four members of His Majesty's Council, for a meeting of the Assembly, to be held upon September 4, to manage the affairs of the colony in his absence.

Jamestown he left under the command of Colonel Hansford. He then set out, upon his Indian warfare. The few who had had the hardihood to openly oppose his plans he left behind him safe within prison bars; others, who were at first unfriendly to him, he had won over to his way of thinking by

argument; while any that he suspected might raise any party against him in his absence, he took along with him.

For the third time, Bacon marched to the "Falls" where he "bestirred himself lustily," to make up for lost time in carrying on the war against the Ockinechees and Susquehannocks; but these tribes seem to have fled far into the depths of the wilderness. He marched over to the "freshes of York," to look for Pamunkeys, who "being acquainted and knowing both the manners, customs, and nature of our people, and the strength, situation and advantages of the country," were capable of doing them damage.

The Royal Commissioners condemn the pursuit of the Pamunkeys, saying, "It was well known that the Queen of Pamunkey and her people had ne'er at any time betrayed or injured the English."

It is evident that the war with the Indians was intended to be a war of extermination, for thus only did Virginians believe they would ever secure safety for themselves and their homes. Governor Berkeley himself had no faith in the friendship of the Indians. While Bacon was gone upon his expedition against the Ockinechees the Governor sent forces under Colonel Claiborne and others to the headwaters of Pamunkey River. They found there the Pamunkey Indians established in a fort in the Dragon Swamp—probably somewhere between the present Essex and King and Queen Counties. The red men said they had fled to this stronghold for fear of Bacon, but their explanation did not satisfy the Governor, who declared that as soon as his difficulty with Bacon was settled he would advance upon the fort himself. The Queen of Pamunkey was in the fort, and when requested by Berkeley to return to her usual place of residence said "she most willingly would return to be under the Governor's protection, but that she did understand the Governor and those gentlemen [with him] could not protect themselves from Mr. Bacon."

At the "freshes of York" Bacon was joined by the northern part of the colony, under Col. Giles Brent. They marched through the difficult country near the head of York River and

the streams which form it, attacked a party of Pamunkeys and captured forty-five of them, together with much plunder—which did not include food. Bad weather had caused delay which wasted their provisions. Starvation was now staring them in the face and compelled Bacon and his forces to turn homeward.

While they had been scouring the wilderness for Indians, the colony was in a state of panic. A plot had been formed by Governor Berkeley and Captain Larrimore to recapture the ship which Bacon had sent to the Eastern Shore after the Governor. When she cast anchor before Accomac, Berkeley sent for her commander, Captain Carver, to come ashore, promising him a safe return, and leaving his ship in charge of Bland, he went well armed and escorted to obey the summons. While Sir William was persuading Carver to desert Bacon, Larrimore, who had a boat in readiness, rowed a party of men, under command of Colonel Philip Ludwell, out to the ship. The Baconians were taken by surprise, and all on board made prisoners. Soon afterward, Captain Carver, his conference with Sir William over, set out for the ship, in ignorance of what had happened until he came within gunshot, when he, too, fell into the trap, and found himself in irons with Bland and the others.

A few days later Berkeley hanged the unfortunate Carver. It was upon the first day of August that the Baconians had seized Larrimore's ship and made her ready to go to Accomac after Berkeley. Upon the seventh of September Berkeley set sail for Jamestown, with a fleet consisting of the recaptured ship and sixteen or seventeen sloops manned by six hundred men.

News of Sir William's approach reached Jamestown before his fleet was spied from the landing. His ships were before long seen sailing up the river and his messenger soon afterward landed, bearing commands for surrender of the town, with promise of pardon to all who would desert to the Governor's cause, excepting only Bacon's two strongest friends, Drummond and Lawrence. The Baconians spurned the terms, but seeing that it would be madness to attempt to hold the

town against such numbers, escaped. Mr. Lawrence left "all his wealth and a fair cupboard of plate entire standing, which fell into the Governor's hands the next morning." About noonday, on September 8, the day following the evacuation, Sir William entered the little capital. He fortified it, and then once more proclaimed Bacon and his followers rebels and traitors.

In the meantime Bacon, on his way back to Jamestown, had been met by news of the reception that awaited him from Sir William. His army consisted now of only one hundred and thirty-six tired-out, soiled, tattered, and hungry men. The young General, with the frankness with which he always opened the eyes of his soldiers to every danger to which they might be exposed in his service, laid before them Governor Berkeley's schemes for their undoing. The brave men shouted that they would stand by him to the end. "Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers," he answered, "How am I transported with gladness to find you thus unanimous, bold and daring, brave and gallant. You have the victory before you fight, the conquest before battle. I know you have the prayers and well wishes of all the people of Virginia, while the others are loaded with their curses."

As if "animated with new courage," the bit of an army marched onward. The only stop was in New Kent County, where, their number was increased to three hundred. Weak and weary, ragged and soiled as the men were, the homecoming was a triumphal progress. The dwellers along the way came out of their houses praying aloud for the happiness of the people's champion. Seeing the Indian captives his men led along, they shouted thanks for his care and for their preservation, and brought fruits and bread for the refreshment of himself and his soldiers. Women cried out that if need be they would come and serve under him. His young wife wrote a friend in England: "You never knew any better beloved than he is. I do verily believe that rather than he should come to any hurt by the Governor or anybody else, they would most of them lose their lives."

Toward evening upon September 13, after a march of be-

tween thirty and forty miles since daybreak, the army reached "Green Spring." In a field here, Bacon again gathered his men around him for a final word before marching upon the capital. In a ringing appeal he told them that if they would ever fight they would do so now against all the odds that confronted them—the enemy having every advantage of position, place of retreat, and men fresh and unwearied, while they were "so few, weak, and tired."

"Come on, my hearts of gold!" he cried. "He that dies in the field, lies in the bed of honour!"

He moved onward, and drew up his "small tired body of men" in an old Indian field outside of Jamestown. Riding forward upon the "Sandy Beach"—a narrow neck of land which then connected the town with the mainland, but has since been washed away, making Jamestown an island—he commanded a trumpet-blast to be sounded, and fired off his carbine. From out the stillness of the night the salute was heard and answered by a trumpeter within the town. Bacon dismounted and ordered an earthwork across the neck of land. Two axes and two spades were his only tools, but all night long his men worked like beavers beneath the September moon. Trees crashed down, bushes were cut, earth heaped up, and before daybreak the fortification was complete.

When Sir William looked abroad next day and found the gateway between town and country so hostilely barred, he resolved to try the old trick, of seeking to disarm an enemy by affectation of friendship. Pretending to desire a reconciliation with the Rebel, he ordered his men not to attack. But Sir William little knew of what stuff Bacon and his handful of ragamuffins was made.

The beginning of the siege was announced by six of Bacon's soldiers, who ran up to the palisade of the town fort, "fired briskly upon the guard," and retreated safely within their earthwork. Upon a signal from within the town, the Governor's fleet in the river shot off their "great guns," while at the same time the guard in the palisades let fly their small shot. Though assailed from two sides at once, the rebels lying under their earthwork were protected from both and returned

the fire as fast as it was given. Even under fire, Bacon, the resourceful, strengthened his fort by having a party of his soldiers to bind faggots into bundles, which they held before themselves for protection while they made them fast along the top and at the ends of the earthwork.

A sentinel from the top of a chimney on Colonel Moryson's plantation, watched Berkeley's manœuvres all day, and reported to Bacon how the men in town "posted and reposted, drew on and off, what number they were and how they moved."

For three days the cross-firing continued, during which the besiegers were so well shielded that they do not seem to have lost a man. Upon the third day the Governor decided to make a sally upon the rebels. It is written that when he gave the order for the attack some of his officers made such "crabbed faces" that the "gunner of York Fort," who, it seems, was humorously inclined, offered to buy a colonel's or a captain's commission for whomsoever would have one for "a chunk of a pipe." It is also written that the Governor's Accomac soldiers "went out with heavy hearts, but returned with light heels," for the Baconians received them so warmly that they retired in great disorder, throwing down their arms and leaving them and their drum on the field behind them, with the dead bodies of two of their comrades, which the rebels took into their trenches and buried with their arms.

Upon the day after the sally some of Bacon's Indian captives were exhibited on top of the earthworks, and this primitive bit of bravado served as an object-lesson to quicken the enthusiasm of the neighbourhood folk, who were coming over to the Rebel in large numbers. News was brought that "great multitudes" were declaring for the popular cause in Nansemond and Isle of Wight Counties, "as also all the south side of the river."

In the midst of the siege Bacon resorted to one measure which for pure originality has not been surpassed in the history of military tactics, and which has furnished much "copy" for writers of historical romances.

The Rebel captured two pieces of artillery, but how was he

to mount them without endangering the lives of his men? Dispatching some of his officers to the plantations near Jamestown, he had them to bring into his camp Madam Bacon (the wife of his cousin Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., President of the Council), Madam Bray, Madam Page, Madam Ballard, and other ladies of the households of members of his Majesty's Council loyal to the Governor. He sent one of them, under escort, into Jamestown, to let her husband and the husbands of her companions know with what precious material he was strengthening his fort, and to give them warning not to shoot. The remaining ladies he stationed in front of his breastworks and kept them there till the captured "great guns" had been mounted; then sent them safely home.

So effectual a fortification did the glimmer of a few white aprons upon his breastworks prove to be, that, as though confronted by a line of warriors from Ghostland, the Governor's soldiers stood aghast, powerless to level a gun, while they had to bear with what grace they could having their ladies dubbed "Guardian angels" of the rebel camp.

The cannon were never given a chance to prove their service.

Jamestown stood upon low, marshy ground. There were no fresh water springs, and water from the wells was brackish and unwholesome, making the place "improper for the commencement of a siege." When Berkeley's soldiers found that the Rebel meant to keep them blocked up in such comfortless quarters, and that the prospects were that there was nothing to be gained in Sir William's service, they fell away from him in such numbers that the old man found there was nothing left for him but a second flight. That night he, with the gentlemen who remained true to him—about twenty in all—stole out of their stronghold, and taking to the ships, "fell silently down the river," and came to anchor a few miles away.

Next morning the rebels took possession of the deserted capital, and that night, Berkeley and his friends on the river below, beheld jets of flame leaping skyward which told them that the little city would shelter them nevermore. Filled with horror, they weighed anchor and sailed out of James River

and across the Chesapeake, where Berkeley found, for a second time, refuge on the shores of Accomac County. "Thoughtful Mr. Lawrence," and Mr. Drummond began the work of ruin by setting the torch to their own substantial dwellings. The soldiers were quick to follow this example, and soon all that remained of Jamestown was a memory, a heap of ashes, and a smoke-stained church tower, which still tells the wayfarer that the most enduring pile the builders of that first capital of Virginia raised was a Christian temple.

Mr. Drummond rushed into the burning State House and rescued the official records of the colony.

In a letter written the following February Sir William Berkeley said that Bacon entered Jamestown and "burned five houses of mine and twenty of other gentlemen's, and a very commodious church." The brick State House was also burned. Its unearthed foundations may yet be seen at Jamestown.

Bacon marched his men back to "Green Spring" and quartered them there. Comfortably established in Berkeley's own house, the Rebel's next step was to draw up an oath of fidelity to the people's cause, denouncing Sir William as a traitor and an enemy to the public good, and again binding his followers to resist any forces that might be sent from England until such time as his Majesty should "fully understand the miserable case of the country, and the justice of our proceedings," and if they should find themselves no longer strong enough to defend their "lives and liberties," to quit the colony rather than submit to "any such miserable slavery" as they had been undergoing.

The "prosperous rebel," as the Royal Commissioners call Bacon, suggested an exchange of prisoners to Berkeley—offering the Reverend John Clough (minister at Jamestown), Captain Thomas Hawkins, and Major John West, in return for Captain Carver (of whose execution he had not heard), Giles Bland, and Farloe. Governor Berkeley instead of releasing the gentlemen asked for, afterward sent the remaining two after the luckless Carver.

Though Bacon himself was never accused of putting any-

one to death in cold blood, or of plundering any house, people began to complain of the depredations and disorder of his men. He therefore set a strict discipline over his army and became more moderate than ever himself.

After a few days' rest at "Green Spring" he marched on to Tindall's Point, Gloucester, where he made the home of Colonel Augustine Warner, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, his headquarters, and sent out a notice to all the people of the county to meet him at the Court-house for the purpose of taking his oath. His plans were interrupted by a report from Rappahannock County that Colonel Brent, who, it seems, had gone over to Berkeley's side, was advancing upon him at the head of eleven hundred militia. He ordered the drums to beat up his soldiers, under their colours, and told them of the strength of the approaching army, and of Brent's "resolution" to fight him, and "demanded theirs."

He set out to meet the enemy and had been on the march several days when, instead of meeting a hostile army, he was greeted with the cheerful tidings that Brent's followers had left their commander to "shift for himself."

Bacon now hastened back to Gloucester to meet his appointment there. The cautious men of Gloucester, reckoning that in such uncertain times there might be danger in declaring too warmly for either one side or the other, petitioned that they might be "indulged in the benefit of neutrality." He haughtily refused to grant the request, telling those who made it that they put him in mind of the worst of sinners, who desired to be saved with the righteous, "yet would do nothing whereby they might obtain their salvation."

Mr. Wading, a parson, not only refused to take the oath, but tried to persuade others against it. Bacon had him arrested, telling him that "it was his place to preach in the church—not in the camp," and that in the one place he might say what he pleased, in the other only what Bacon pleased, "unless he could fight better than he could preach." It was clearly the clause regarding resistance to English forces that made the people afraid of the oath. Gloucester folk

finally took it. Six hundred men subscribing to it in one place, besides others in other parts of the county.

Bacon next turned his attention to plans for regulation of affairs in the colony. One of these was to visit all "the northern parts of Virginia," and inquire personally into their needs, so as to meet them as seemed most fit. He appointed a committee to look after the south side of James River, and inquire into the plundering reported to have been done there; another committee was to be always with the army, with authority to restrain rudeness, disorder, and depredations; still another was to have management of the Indian war.

Full many "knots" the busy brain of Bacon was "knitting" indeed, but he was never to see the fulfilment of his purposes. The week of exposure to the vapours of Jamestown swamps, during the siege, and strain he had been under since the beginning of the Rebellion, had done their work. The dauntless and brilliant young General met an unexpected and, for the first time, an unprepared-for enemy in the deadly fever, against which he had no weapon of defense.

It is written that he was "besieged by sickness" at the house of Mr. Pate, in Gloucester, and upon the first day of October "surrendered up that fort he was no longer able to keep into the hands of that grim and all-conquering captain, Death."

He died much dissatisfied in mind at leaving his work unfinished, and "inquiring ever and anon after the arrival of the frigates and forces from England."

Those who loved him in life laid his body away beyond the reach of the insults of his enemies. The place and manner of his burial is to this day a mystery; but tradition has it that stones were placed in his coffin and he was put to bed beneath the deep waters of York River.

A feeble attempt was made by Bacon's followers, under Ingram as commander-in-chief, to carry on the rebellion, but in their leader the people of Virginia had lost the organizer, the inspiration of their party. Their "arms, though ne'er so strong," wanted the "aid of his commanding tongue." As

soon as the news of his death was carried across the Chesapeake, to Berkeley, the Governor sent a party of men, under command of Major Robert Beverley, in a sloop over to York to reconnoitre. These "snapped up" young Colonel Hansford and about twenty soldiers who kept guard under his command at Colonel Reade's house. Upon his arrival at Accomac, Hansford was accorded the inevitable "honour to be the first Virginian that ever was hanged" (first Englishman born in Virginia), while the soldiers under him were imprisoned. The young officer met his death asking no other favour than that he might be "shot, like a soldier, and not hanged, like a dog" (which was denied him), and praying Heaven to forgive his sins.

With his last breath he protested that he "died a loyal subject and a lover of his country, and that he had never taken up arms but for the destruction of the Indians, who had murdered so many Christians."

Major Cheesman and Captain Wilford (son of a knight, and but "a little man, yet had a great heart, and was known to be no coward") were taken by the same party that captured Hansford. Wilford was hanged, while Cheesman only escaped a like fate by dying in prison.

When Major Cheesman was asked why he had taken up arms with Bacon, his devoted wife stepped forward and declared that she had persuaded him to do so, and upon her knees pleaded that she might die in his stead. Berkeley answered her with insult, and ordered that her husband be taken to prison.

Encouraged by Major Beverley's "nimble and timely service" Berkeley, with an armed force, sailed in person to York River. A party of soldiers under one Farrill, accompanied by Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Sr. and Colonel Ludwell, who went along to see the thing well done, made an unsuccessful attack upon a garrison of Baconians under Major Whaly, at President Bacon's own house. Farrill was killed and some of his men were taken prisoners.

Another party of the Governor's troops which, under command of Major Lawrence Smith, had taken possession of

Mr. Pate's house (where the Rebel died), was besieged by the Baconians under Ingram. Major Smith "only saved himself by leaving his men in the lurch." The whole party surrendered to Ingram, who dismissed them to their homes, unarmed.

Despite these little victories, however, the Rebellion was doomed. A few days after his raid upon Pate's house, Ingram decided to give up the struggle.

In the lower part of Surry County, upon the banks of James River, stands an ancient brick mansion, still known as "Bacon's Castle," which tradition says was fortified by the rebel. It is mentioned in the records as "Allen's Brick House," where Bacon had a guard under Major Rookins. It was captured by a force from the Governor's ship *Young Prince*, Robert Morris, commander, and Major Rookins, being "taken in open rebellion," was one of those afterward sentenced to death by court martial, at "Green Spring," but was so fortunate as to die in prison and cheat the gallows.

Drummond and Lawrence alone remained inflexible, in command of a brick house in New Kent County. They at length fled from their stronghold, and Drummond was overtaken by some of the Governor's soldiers in Chickahominy Swamp, half starved. A friend had advised him to be cautious in his opposition to the Governor, but he answered, "I am in over shoes, I will be in over boots."

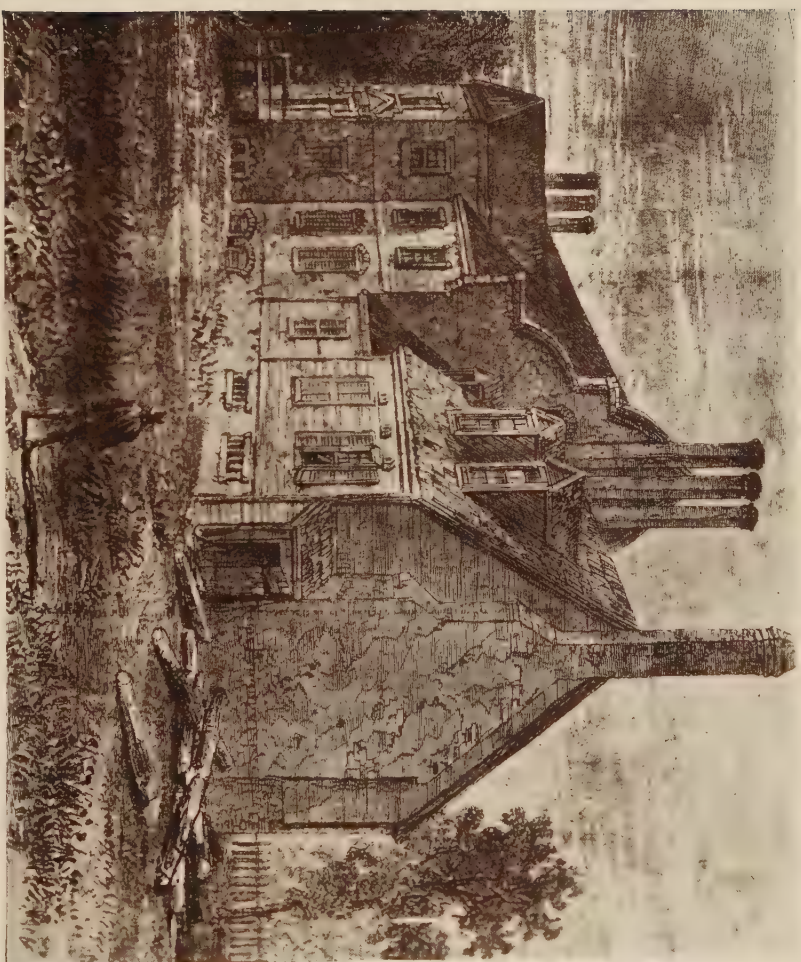
When he was brought before Berkeley, Sir William greeted him with a low bow, saying:

"Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond you shall be hanged in half an hour."

The sturdy Scotchman replied: "What your Honour pleases."

The sentence was executed without delay.

The end of Lawrence is not known. When last seen he, in company with four other Baconians, mounted and armed, was making good his escape through a snow, ankle deep. They were supposed to have cast themselves into some river rather than die by Sir William's rope.



BACON'S CASTLE, OCCUPIED BY NATHANIEL BACON'S ADHERENTS DURING THE REBELLION
OF 1676
Built by Arthur Allen and long occupied by his descendants and by the Warren family
From an old print

By the middle of January 1677, the whole colony had been reduced to submission, and upon January 22 Governor Berkeley went home to "Green Spring" and issued a summons for an Assembly to meet there—for since the destruction of Jamestown, the colony was without a legislative hall.

Sir William sent a message to the Assembly directing that some mark of distinction be set upon his friends of Accomac, who had twice given him shelter during the uprising. It fell to the lot of a Baconian, Col. Augustine Warner, as Speaker of the House, to read the Governor's message. That fiery gentleman commented that he did not know what the "distinction" should be unless to give them "earmarks or burnt marks"—the common manner of branding criminals and hogs.

So many persons had been put to death by Berkeley "divers whereof were persons of honest reputations and handsome estates" that the new Assembly petitioned him to spill no more blood. A member from Northumberland, Mr. William Presley by name, said that he "believed the Governor would have hanged half the country if they had let him alone."

His Majesty King Charles II is said to have declared that the "old fool had hanged more men in that naked country than he (Charles) had done for the murder of his father."

With the completion of Berkeley's revenge fell the curtain upon the final act in that drama of Bacon's Rebellion.

As soon as the country was quiet many suits were brought by members of the Governor's party for damages to their property and show how widespread throughout the colony was the uprising.

The records of Westmoreland County witness that the Baconians, under "General" Thomas Goodrich, had control in the Northern Neck of Virginia as late as November, 1676. Major Isaac Allerton, of Westmoreland, brought suit for 13,000 pounds of tobacco for damages his estate had suffered at the hands of a rebel garrison which had seized and fortified the house of his neighbour, Colonel John Washington. The jury gave him 6400 pounds.

Many illustrations of the unbroken spirit of Bacon's followers are preserved in the old records.

When Stephen Mannering, the rebel officer who had given the order for the seizure of Colonel Washington's house, inquired how many prisoners had been taken there, he was told fourteen, with "guns loaded." Whereupon he exclaimed that if he had been there with fourteen men, he would "uphold the house from five hundred men, or else die at their feet."

About the time of meeting of the "Green Spring" Assembly, a small fleet arrived from England, bringing the long-looked-for "red-coats" and also three gentlemen—Sir John Berry, Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, and Colonel Francis Moryson, commissioned by the King to inquire into and report upon the state of affairs in the colony. His Majestys "red-coats" found that their services were not needed, but the conciliatory attitude of the Royal Commissioners aided in restoring peace.

"Bacon's epitaph, made by his man" truly prophesied:

None shall dare his obsequies to sing
In deserv'd measures, until time shall bring
Truth crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praise to all posterity.

CHAPTER XXIII

VIRGINIA'S STRUGGLE FOR HER RIGHTS

FULL of years, broken in heart and in health, Virginia's Cavalier Governor had, before the end of the Rebellion, prayed the King's leave to resign his office. The King wrote him to "proceed at once to England" and commissioned Col-Herbert Jeffreys Lieut. Governor. The first four ships of the English fleet the *Bristol*, the *Deptford*, the *Rose* and the *Dartmouth*, bringing Sir John Berry, Col. Francis Moryson and seventy soldiers anchored, in bad weather, at Kecoughtan on Jan. 29, 1677, and the remaining ships straggled in later, "with all kinds of provisions and ammunition necessary for carrying on the war against the King's enemies and suppressing the present rebellion," and additional forces to make up a complete regiment of 1000 men—under command of Colonel Jeffreys.

Berkeley went on board Berry's ship and told him that Bacon was dead, the Rebellion over, "the poor loyal party beginning to return to their ruined homes" and "James City totally burnt." He added that there were no quarters for the soldiers already arrived, "much less for the number that are coming after." At the news of so many, the Governor was "much amused" and the people were "startled." England had not heard of the end of the Rebellion and active service for the soldiers was expected. Bitter antagonism between the Berkelean party and the Commissioners is apparent from the first—in the frequent mention in the Commissioners' letters home, of Berkeley's "contrariety." Before seeing him Sir William hated Jeffreys with a black, jealous hatred, because he had come to supplant himself. When he had asked relief from his office he had no thought of an immediate successor who would put an end to his hanging some of the despised rebels and having others crawl on their knees with ropes around their necks, before him, begging his pardon—an end to his marking hogsheads of tobacco "with the

broad arrow" (signifying confiscation)—an end to his plundering the estates of widows and children till they were reduced to starvation point—an end to the absolute power he had enjoyed so long in Virginia. No, a successor was the last person he wanted to see. With all of his selfishness and bitterness the old Cavalier was a sentimentalist. He had spent too much of his life on the development of Virginia—was too deeply rooted in the soil—to wish to leave it forever. Leave Green Spring and its memories? Leave the goodly forests and green tobacco fields, the village-like plantations, the fair bays and rivers, the blue sea and blue mountains of Virginia? Leave the rebuilding of Jamestown to a stranger? Unthinkable! Unbearable! But, wait. In the King's orders was the word "conveniency." *That* might mean that there was no hurry about giving way to Jeffreys.

Ten days after their arrival, Berry and Moryson "On board the Bristol at Newport News," wrote to the Governor requesting him to hasten preparations for landing the soldiers and storing the King's ammunition and provisions, and to have published the King's proclamation of grace and pardon "that the people who look very amazed at the Commissioners and the forces coming over" might have their fears set at rest. Berkeley had become deaf and the Commissioners suggested that his answer and all communications between him and them be in writing, lest "loud and fierce speaking" not only "deny privacy, but sound angrily" to the people. The Commissioners had come to a devastated country. During the Rebellion and since, Loyalists and Baconians had ruthlessly plundered each other's property. During the so-called peace which followed, Berkeley had been busy confiscating the estates of "the King's enemies" through the courts, and appropriating or "borrowing" what he wanted. He wrote the Commissioners that "as for providing magazines for the soldiers' victuals and ammunition," he hoped they did not expect he could "do impossibilities." He added that the rebels left him but one ox and he had "borrowed six" to bring wood and victuals for the 200 men then in his house.

Instead of publishing the King's proclamation of forgive-

ness, from which were excluded only Bacon who was dead and Drummond "who had fled away," the Governor substituted a written one excluding eighteen, and went on with his works of prosecution. This deeply offended Charles II, who condemned Sir William's proclamation as "so different from ours and so derogatory to our princely clemency toward all our subjects" that it was of "no validity." Berkeley's excuse was that the King's own words gave him "full power and authority . . . for us and in our name to pardon, release, and forgive all such our subjects (other than the said Nathaniel Bacon) as you shall think fit and convenient. . . ." But while these words gave him leave to *pardon* according to his discretion they gave him no power to punish.

As Jamestown was an ash-heap and the Governor denied the Commissioners the hospitality of Green Spring, they accepted that of Swann's Point, the plantation of Colonel Thomas Swann, on the other side of the river. A camp for the soldiers, with hastily constructed barracks, was established at Middle Plantation—then deep in snow and ice, which made it "almost impossible for men to subsist." Later some of them were quartered in private homes in other parts of the colony. The colonists themselves shivered with fear, which ship after ship of the King's soldiers in warm coloured red coats and gold braid only increased. On Feb. 12, Berkeley wrote to Jeffreys that his Majesty having given him leave to throw himself at his feet to give an account of the condition of the colony he should comply with all the haste the miserable condition of his affairs would permit and should gladly obey the King's commands by leaving the government during his absence in the Lieut. Governor's hands. But on the same day the Commissioners went over to Green Spring and found the Council with Berkeley, and Jeffreys' Commission being read. Sir William asked his Council whether he was "immediately to resign the government or no?" The Council (almost as antagonistic to Jeffreys as was Berkeley) considered whether the word "conveniency" meant in respect to his Majesty's service or Sir William Berkeley's own private "convenience," and told him no.

In a tactful address to the Governor, Council and Assembly, written at Swann's Point and signed "Your friends to serve you, Herbert Jeffreys, John Berry, Francis Moryson," the Commissioners said that they had been sent to help restore peace and welfare to "this so miserable, shattered and lacerated colony" and hoped that the Assembly might gain for itself the "name and memorable reputation of the healing Assemblée. . . ." They "would be happy to bear home to his Majesty the burthens which had disturbed that peace and tranquility which his good subjects had so long enjoyed under his Majesty's happy government and by reason of the great and remote distance of Virginia from the place of his royal residence could not be so easily made known to him as the troubles of other his subjects." They added that the King ordered that a peace be made with the neighbouring Indians. The King very earnestly desired reduction of the great salaries paid members of the Assembly and also that no liquor bills be paid for its members. The address concludes with the wish that Governor, Council and Assembly do every thing they can "tending to the peace and Resettlement of this distressed country."

The Commissioners refused to consider anonymous complaints, but appointed Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays as days to receive and examine "grievances" that were duly signed and sworn to. Though the Assembly which met at Green Spring, on February 20, passed an act (with exceptions) of pardon and indemnity it was far from being a "healing Assembly." It was made up largely of Berkeley's friends and was as intolerant as Sir William himself. It prepared an address to the King giving a one sided account of Bacon's Rebellion. According to this the Assembly had found the best way to settle the troubles of the colony but "the precipitate, giddy multitude was not content but to follow Bacon." The King's pardon was asked, with the petition that "according to the example of the King of Kings who promised to spare the unrighteous city for ten righteous, he would for the sake of the few who were loyal pardon all." The Assembly ac-

knowledge no fault on the part of its members or of the Governor, praised and declared that no charge of corruption or injustice could be made against him and that they "never heard of any unjust judgment given by him." Grievances were presented by various counties, complaining of the oppressions which caused the Rebellion. All these petitions were rejected and most of them declared to be "scandalous." The petition of Gloucester County in regard to the levy of 60 pounds of tobacco per poll was pronounced "scandalous . . . the authors of the complaint are to be sent for and punished." Gloucester also complained of the high charges for the Burgesses but the Assembly called this "mere clamour." The Commissioners declared in letters to England, "All that disturbs the peace of the colony now is the Governor's abiding upon the place and the fierceness of those who call themselves the loyal party—which are not many. Their rapacious insolence exasperates the other party . . . which indeed is little less than the whole country." The Commissioners had "advised a stop to the rigid prosecution and the Assembly also, by address, asked the Governor to hold his hand from all future sanguinary punishments," notwithstanding which the letter closes: "Giles Bland executed this day at Jamestown."

On April 28 Berkeley wrote Jeffreys "Your irresistible desire to rule the country has precipitated you on that undertaking" and that the people would quickly find a difference between his (Berkeley's) management and that of Jeffreys—"sooner if Col. Moryson be removed, who besides other advantages knows the laws, customs and nature of the people. With all of which you are as yet utterly unacquainted." On May 13 the King wrote Berkeley rebuking him for failure to "Yield obedience" to his commands. He is "now strictly commanded to turn over the government to Jeffreys and to come at once to England." Next day Secretary-of-State Coventry wrote Sir William of not understanding why he has "delayed if not refused obedience to the King's orders. The King himself is not a little surprised as well as troubled to find a person who

has been so loyal fall in such great errors as to affront the King's proclamation by putting out one of his own. . . . The King hath very little hopes that the people of Virginia shall be brought to a right sense of their duty to obey their governors when the governors themselves will not obey the King." Berkeley's "long services and the loyalty of himself and family have kept the King from resolutions." The Secretary wrote to Jeffreys on the same day saying that he was troubled to find he meets with difficulties in quartering his men but more so at the Governor's refusal to obey his Majesty's orders. "His Majesty, sensible of Berkeley's services and age, is unwilling to proceed to extremities unless forced and has once more written enjoining submission and delivering up the government to Jeffreys; but if the Governor does not comply his Majesty hath writ the enclosed letter to Jeffreys and the Council to cause Berkeley to be embarked, but if he comply Jeffreys must not show the letter to the Council—his Majesty not desiring to add unnecessary severity to his treatment." Berkeley never received the letters of censure from the King and Secretary as he left Virginia before they arrived there but, today, in the British Public Record Office, these letters are silent witnesses to the displeasure of Charles II, who had at length insisted that he was King of Virginia and in those troublous times both in England and her first colony showed commendable interest in his faraway subjects.

At the October Assembly (1677) the complaints of Surry County were declared "scandalous" and the signers fined 400 pounds of tobacco each. Verily, too much self-government seems to have made Virginia mad.

Berkeley left Virginia ringing with gossip over an insult handed by him or his wife to the King's Commissioners who had notified Sir William that they were coming to Greenspring to bid him goodbye. When the visitors left the house they found the Governor's coach at the door to convey them in proper state to the wharf where they would take boat for Swann's Point, but as they were about to enter the vehicle a stranger displaced the negro driver from the box

and took the reins. He was found to be the "common hangman, appointed," it was said, by Lady Berkeley. Reporting the "base indignity" to Secretary Coventry, the Commissioners described her as "peeping through a broken pane of glass in her chamber window to see how the show looked. But, God be thanked, we had the grace and good luck to go all the way on foot." Berkeley declared that he was as innocent of the affront "as the blessed angels"; and his lady wrote the Commissioners that neither he nor she had the slightest thought or knowledge of it, and that the negro would be punished.

Charles showed also commendable consideration for the enfeebled old cavalier who, after a long, rough passage landed in England "so ill and unlike to live that" (in the words of Coventry) "it had been very inhuman to have troubled him with interrogations; so he died without any account given of his government." Lord Culpeper at once "kissed the King's hands as Governor by virtue of a former patent." But Jeffreys remained in Virginia as Deputy Governor until his own death late in the year following. On May 29th, he and the other Commissioners met and concluded a peace with the Kings and Queens of the Virginia Indians at the camp at Middle Plantation. What a picture they made! The British dignitaries, the soldiers in their gay uniforms and Virginia royalty in their blankets, beads and feathers, bringing wampum belts as peace gifts, smoking pipes of peace and solemnly signing the treaty, each with his own tribal mark.

This treaty was between the colonists and the Queen of Pamunkey representing the old tribe of Powhatan, and ten subordinate tribes. Concerning the fate of one of these—the Monocans—there is no record. By the end of the century they had disappeared, and at the beginning of the next the Huguenot settlers were placed on the lands which they had occupied. The Indians acknowledged dependency upon the King of England and their ancient subjection to the Queen of Pamunkey. The tribes which did not have sufficient land were to be given more. Justice was to be done in all difficulties between the English and the Indians. Colonists were

not to live nearer than three miles to Indian towns and friendly warriors were to be armed to assist the English when they were needed. Every Indian King and Queen should come in the month of March every year to the Governor's residence, bringing him tribute of three arrows and twenty beaver skins. The Commissioners promised a purple robe and a crown to the Queen of Pamunkey and to each of the subordinate kings and queens, a purple robe and a coronet made of silver plate, gilt, and adorned with "false stones" of various colors.* When these robes and crowns arrived from England, the Council opposed their being presented, explaining that experience showed that such gifts turned the heads of the Indians. The presentation was made at the camp at Middle Plantation, with due solemnity, on the King's birthday, but before long the subordinate tribes complained of the airs of the Queen of Pamunkey, saying that she treated them as if they were her slaves, "a condition which had not existed since Opechancanough's time." Notwithstanding the Treaty, troubles with the Indians continued, chiefly on the frontiers, and from raiding parties of northern tribes. In the year following the treaty there was a sharp fight not far from the present Richmond between Indians and the Henrico militia. Major William Harris was killed and Col. Francis Eppes mortally wounded "by an arrow in his throat." Governor Jeffreys wrote Secretary Coventry that "It would be a good thing if the Indians should cut each others throats if the whites had no hand in it."

Sir William Berkeley's departure had removed the chief obstacle to pacifying the discord produced by Bacon's Rebellion, yet it did not bring peace. Berkeley's powerful party in the Council and the House of Burgesses, led by the Greenspring ring, were bitter over the checking of their plans and exasperated at Jeffreys and the other Commissioners. These three men were equally bitter toward the Berkeleyan party.

* The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities owns a silver "frontlet" (formerly attached to a red velvet cap) known as the "Indian crown." It bears an inscription showing that it was presented to the Queen of Pamunkey by the English Government.



SILVER FRONTLET FROM THE CROWN OF THE
QUEENE OF PAMUNKEY

Given her by the English Government in 1677

By Courtesy of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities

Like the King, they were graciously disposed toward pardoning former rebels and alleviating the general distress, but their attitude (like that of governors who followed Jeffreys and of Charles II and his successor, James II) was government, in limited degree *for* the people, and not at all *by* the people. There soon began a long, bitter quarrel between the Assembly and the Governor and Commissioners.

From the years following Bacon's Rebellion to the Accession of William and Mary the most important thing in the history of Virginia was the constant struggle of the House of Burgesses to protect its rights and those of the people from governors acting under instructions from Charles II and James II, or actuated by their own greed. Not only was the right to control taxation at stake, but even the existence of a Colonial legislature seems at times to have been threatened.

After the meeting of the Spring Assembly the Commissioners ordered Maj. Robert Beverley, Clerk of the House of Burgesses (whom Berkeley had made Commander of all his forces) to deliver to them all the records of the three preceding Assemblies. Beverley offered to take them to Swann's Point and stay with the Commissioners as long as necessary, but they insisted that the books be delivered. When Beverley answered that he could not comply without the permission of his "Masters"—the Burgesses—the books were seized by force and kept several months. Soon afterward the Commissioners made their attack upon Berkeley's friends in the Council by removing from the body Thomas Ballard, whom they termed "a fellow of turbulent, mutinous spirit." The Assembly was furious. In October, when it met again it adopted a protest declaring that it did not believe such a power as the Commissioners had assumed would have been granted by his Majesty. "For," said they, "we do not find the same to have been practiced by any of the kings of England, and therefore, take the same to be a violation of our rights and privileges, desiring to be assured of no such violation in future." Beverley was Clerk at this session, but in December Jeffreys seems to have suspended him from

office and put Philip Ludwell under restraint. A former Baconian whom Ludwell had sued was given the protection of Governor Jeffreys. This aroused the "rash and fiery" temper of Ludwell, who charged that Jeffreys was a worse rebel than Bacon, "for he broke the country's laws, which Bacon never did." He also dubbed Jeffreys a "pitiful little fellow in a periwig." Jeffreys' colleague, Moryson, in retaliation called Ludwell and Beverley some hard names.

Jeffreys died in Virginia late in 1678, and as Lord Culpeper still lingered at the court of Charles II, Sir Henry Chicheley, a brave, generous old fellow, but feeble, served under an old Commission as deputy governor until his Lordship's arrival in 1680. Berry and Moryson, on their return to England, gave the Lords of Trade and Plantations so adverse an account of the Virginia Council that this Board removed Col. Edward Hill, Thomas Ballard and others, and declared Beverley unfit to hold office. The proceedings of the House of Burgesses, especially their resolution adopted in 1677 in regard to their records and the behaviour of Berkeley's friends, aroused the anger of the King and his advisers in England. Their instructions to Lord Culpeper show their intention to reduce, as far as possible, the popular rights which Virginians had so long enjoyed. He was not only ordered to rebuke the Assembly but to demand that the House of Burgesses adopt a resolution condemning their own former action (which they never did) and was directed to seek out the authors of the offensive resolution and have them punished. On July 3, the Governor, who had returned to Virginia, read his instructions to the Council. The order to punish the authors of "that disloyal and seditious declaration" startled the Council and they told Governor Culpeper that the attempt to execute this would disturb the quiet of the country, and advised that nothing be done about it until the King's pleasure be known. Far more serious was the direction that in future the Governor and Council should prepare drafts of acts, send them to England for the King's approval and when they were returned to Virginia have the Assembly adopt them. These last orders would have meant the end of real legislation in the Colony, but they

do not seem to have been made public there and were afterward rescinded.

The Assembly met in the rebuilt but unfinished Church at Jamestown in June 1680. The Burgesses informed the Governor that they were ready to present their speaker, just elected. Lord Culpeper replied that they would first go all together into the Church and he would answer them there. In his first speech to the Assembly he announced that the King had sent over three acts which he wished to be adopted. The first was an act of "general pardon, indemnity and oblivion." In presenting it the Governor said: "As his Majesty hath forgott it himselfe, he doth expect this to be the last time of your remembering the late Rebellion and he shall looke upon them to be ill men that rubb the sore by using any future reproaches or terms of distinctions whatever." His Lordship added that he could not at once settle the arrears of pay to the soldiers but promised to "pay them out of his own salary next May, if the Colonial Treasury should fail." The speech was pronounced "most noble." On the day before it was delivered the Council had petitioned the Governor for the reinstatement of Col. Philip Ludwell as a member of that body "from which he was withdrawn, owing to a quarrel with Col. Jeffreys." On the day following, the House of Burgesses prayed that Beverley be continued as Clerk and the Council approved their request. Lord Culpeper did not share the antagonism of the Commissioners and said that to deny Beverley the office to which the House had elected him would be to disoblige the whole country. Ludwell, Beverley and Hill were all reinstated, and later the Burgesses showed their independence by electing Ballard to be their Speaker.

The Burgesses resolved that they could not pass the King's bill for a duty on two shillings per hogshead on tobacco without certain amendments. The Governor delivered to them a message rebuking them for passing only two of the King's bills. "If this continues," said he, "it will make the exercise of Assemblies wholly impracticable if not impossible, for they have assumed power which no House of Commons in England

ever did till it had first voted away both King and Lords."

They made an appropriation of 14,000 pounds of tobacco for finishing the Church. The Governor and Council asked the Assembly to authorize them to lay a tax of twenty pounds of tobacco per poll to be accounted for to the next Assembly. But the House of Burgesses, knowing the danger of such an innovation, refused to consent. Year after year efforts to secure this power were continued, but though the Governor and Council obtained an instruction from the King in favor of it, the Burgesses remained adamant and the attempt was finally abandoned.

Culpeper sailed for England in August, again leaving the Government with its many problems to the aged Sir Henry Chicheley. There were bumper crops of tobacco this year and a consequent fall of price. . . . Added to this serious trouble an act of Assembly (passed in accordance with the King's wishes) compelling all goods for shipment to be sent to certain towns or ports which existed only on paper, caused great hardship. Charles II did not realize that Virginia was a strictly rural colony whose many rivers made it possible and customary for goods imported to be brought directly to plantations whose tobacco crop was, in turn, placed aboard ship from lighters. To have to ship their tobacco and receive the supplies for which it was exchanged at the wharf of a distant, imaginary town was both troublesome and expensive. Lord Culpeper declared on his arrival in England that the most ruinous evil in Virginia was the low price of tobacco. A cessation of tobacco planting would have raised the price, but to prevent loss of revenue to England, the King refused to permit it. The Commissioners of Customs reported that "most parts of Christendom are at present furnished with Virginian tobacco. . . . The average receipts of the customs from tobacco in the last three years have been £100,000."

Affairs in the Colony went quietly on under Governor Chicheley till time for shipping the crop in the following fall, when traders were so obstructed by the act for ports that business was greatly discouraged. Though Chicheley had been directed by the King not to call an Assembly till Culpeper's

return, the feeling of the people that a cessation of planting was their only hope induced the Governor (largely influenced it was charged, by Robert Beverley) to convene one. The feeling even among men of prominence was expressed by Henry Whiting of Gloucester, who was heard to say: "If care be not taken for a cessation, we must all go a-plundering." For this indulgence in freedom of speech Whiting was, later, suspended from the Council and made to give bond for good behaviour. The session of Assembly brought no relief and a feeling of desperation took possession of the Colony. A riot broke out among the people of Gloucester, who fell upon their own tobacco fields, then those of their neighbours, and slashed down the luxuriantly growing plants as though they were indeed evil weeds. The Governor issued proclamation after proclamation, but without avail. The rioters ceased their work by day, but the moon conspired with them at night and, by its light, they went on with fresh fury. Often, when one plantation had been destroyed, its master, as if seized by a frenzy, fell upon the next. In an hour's time as many plants would be destroyed as twenty persons could cultivate in a whole summer. Desperate indeed were these poor planters, many of whom were "not able to buy common necessities," reduced to the destruction of their only currency, whose value had become "no value." On May 5th, Colonel Matthew Kemp, Commander of Gloucester, "with a party of horse and foot," surprised and captured a number of plant cutters. "The women took up the hoes that the men were forced to lay down" and, secretly, cut down plants by day and by night. Soon news came that plant-cutting had broken out in New Kent and Middlesex, and militia was sent to suppress it. Charles Scarborough, of the Eastern Shore, a prominent burgess, when directed by the Burgesses to send to England copies of their journals and an account of Virginia's "deplorable condition," wrote Secretary of State Jenkins: "To do so adequately would require a volume, so I shall only say with the prophet: 'The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint; from the sole of the foot unto the head there is no soundness in it.' " The Tobacco Riot quieted down for a

time, but in August 1682, when the depressed people were exhilarated by the cider, "with which the plantations overflowed," there was a revival of plant-cutting. Lord Culpeper was ordered to return to his post and arrived in Virginia in November. He reported that the King so resented the plant-cutters insurrection that he had ordered that no Assembly should be called till the dignity of the government could be asserted. Kindly old Chicheley, saying that most of the rioters were unimportant persons, had issued a general pardon. This excited the wrath of Culpeper, who tried and hanged several and fined others. Major Robert Beverley, charged with having instigated the plant-cutting, was confined a prisoner on board a ship and orders were sent from England that he be removed from all public offices.

The Assembly of November 1682 tried to provide clothing for the destitute people by passing an act encouraging, by bounties, the manufacture in Virginia of linen and woolen cloths, hats and hosiery, but before this experiment could get well under way the British authorities, selfishly and cruelly fearing injury to English trade, ordered that the act be "disallowed."

The distrust of the people felt by Culpeper and his Council is shown by another action retarding progress in the Colony. The Governor and Council summoned John Buckner before them for printing the acts of Assembly of 1682 without a license and ordered that Buckner and William Nuthead, printer (whom he seems to have brought to Virginia) give bond in the sum of £100 not to print anything till the King's pleasure be known. In December of the following year the King's pleasure was made known by an instruction to forbid the use of any printing press. Had it not been for this, the Colony might have had a *Virginia Gazette* long before 1736.

Lord Culpeper returned to England in May 1683. Chicheley had died and Culpeper left Nicholas Spencer as President of the Council and acting Governor. On May 29th Spencer wrote to England: "The quickening of the tobacco market has encouraged the planters to work vigorously and I never saw a more promising crop."



LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM
One of the late seventeenth century Governors of Virginia

Culpeper had left Virginia without asking the King's leave, which cost him his commission and caused his arrest when he reached England. He was an able but grasping man and only cared for Virginia for what he could make out of it. His chief interest in the Colony was his wish to make secure his grant of the Northern Neck, in which he was successful. Lady Berkeley was his near cousin and he had other relatives in Virginia. His grandson, Lord Fairfax, who inherited the Northern Neck, was a good friend of the young George Washington.

In February 1684, arrived in Virginia a new governor in an enormous wig. This was Francis Howard, Lord Effingham, a peer whose title was famous in Queen Elizabeth's reign. On April 19th, the Assembly ordered that a congratulatory address be made to the King for his "late, miraculous deliverance from Hellish Horrid trayterous plotts and Conspiracies." This referred to the "Rye House plot" to assassinate Charles II and his brother James, Duke of York. In this address the Burgesses proudly described themselves as: "We your Majesty's loyal subjects within your dominion of Virginia (the last submitting to a forced defection from our loyalty in the late national distractions) and the first of your Majesty's subjects within your dominions that returned to their loyalty, before your Majesty's happy Restauration." The Burgesses praised their new Governor, of whose oppressions they very soon began to complain. On May 23rd, came a message from Lord Effingham, saying that unless they altered sundry laws they had passed he would be bound to veto them. The House replied: "We . . . cannot recede without betraying our trust to the country." The Governor stood his ground and the House resolved that "It is our undoubted right to represent the state of the country to the King by address and that this address be presented in the name of the Burgesses only."

The tone of this address is very different from that of less than two weeks earlier. In it the Burgesses complained that law cases affecting several Virginians had been referred for trial to the King in Council. "The final court of appeals has

heretofore been the General Assembly. . . . Twice as much accrues to your revenue from our staple manufacture of tobacco as to ourselves. In spite of the hardships and dangers to which we are exposed in this distant country we do not enjoy so much of your favour as many lesser corporations. Of late several of our acts and statutes have been voided by proclamation without consulting your General Assembly here, contrary to an act 88 and to established usage. We beg you to continue that usage and to grant that our laws may remain in force until repealed by the General Assembly or at least until you have heard our reasons for making them." Lord Effingham refused to forward this address to the King, whereupon the Burgesses sent it themselves by two of their members to the Board of Trade and Plantations. In December following the Board wrote Effingham that the address was unfit to be laid before the King and commended him for refusal to send it. Continued wrangles between the Governor and the Burgesses kept Virginia in a ferment, though all reports from Effingham and Spencer to England described the Colony as "peaceable and quiet. . . ." The popular Beverley was found guilty of misdemeanors in connection with the plant-cutting but sentence was postponed and on Beverley's begging pardon he was released from bail.

In one of Lord Effingham's letters to England he wrote: "The country is peaceable and secure on account of a law passed against the Indians." As has been shown the Treaty of 1677 did not secure Virginia from Indians beyond its borders. Well settled sections were safe but dwellers on the frontiers were in constant dread of the Senecas, who came raiding down from the North in all their war paint and murdered and robbed both Colonists and their Indian allies. In June Lord Effingham went to New York and joined with other Colonial governors in making a peace with the Five Nations, which was kept for some years.

While the Virginia frontiers had been menaced by Northern Indians the coasts were infested by pirates. The last twenty years of the Seventeenth Century was a heyday for these picturesque but unscrupulous robbers. Such outstand-



BLACK BEARD THE PIRATE, CAPTAIN TEACH

ing figures as Blackbeard, Stedebonnet and Captain Kidd became famous, and many minor figures flourished on sea and land. In March 1683 five captured pirates were put in jail at Jamestown, heavily ironed. Two were sentenced to death and one of them—a Polander—was baptized at his own request. The night before the day set for the execution the prisoners escaped, but in three days returned and gave themselves up, telling the sheriff that only earnest desire for time to prepare for death made them break jail. This stirred up many to petition Chicheley in their behalf and he respited them till the King's pleasure could be known. Plantations in Isle of Wight and other counties near the coast continued to be robbed and, according to the Council minutes, in the winter of 1685 Virginia was "much troubled by skulking pirates who were taken and hanged." In 1688 a frigate captured three pirates at the mouth of James River with considerable booty in plate and money. As they claimed they had come to Virginia to seek the benefit of an act of pardon for pirates, they were jailed and later granted bail in the sum of £500 sterling, on condition they would go to England to be tried. Later, when Doctor Blair was in England in the interest of William and Mary College, he offered to use his influence to obtain pardon for these sea-rovers if they would give £300 sterling to the College. He was granted their pardon and the money was paid.

And now a glance at our English background. In February 1685 died Charles II. On May 7th, the accession of his brother James II was announced to the Virginia Council. James was proclaimed on May 15th, at Jamestown and later in the counties, "with all the solemnity and ceremony this country is capable of." His first words as King were a false pledge to preserve the laws and protect the Church of England. "We have the words of a King," was the cry of the delighted populace. In May the Earl of Argyle attempted to lead a revolt in Scotland. It was promptly suppressed, and Argyle was executed. In June the Duke of Monmouth, who made a claim to the crown, declaring himself a legitimate son of Charles II and his successor, and pretending to be a friend

of the dissenters, landed at Lyme, England, and was speedily joined by several thousand peasants and townspeople. He was overwhelmingly defeated and he, too, lost his head. The horrible cruelty which followed is a familiar story. Many of the people were hanged by the soldiers without trial and the brutal Judge Jeffreys put so many others to death that his trials were known as the "bloody assizes." On October 12th, the subservient Effingham and his Council ordered a day of thanksgiving for the new King's deliverance and victory over his enemies. The Virginians evidently talked or whispered their detestation of the reported cruelties, for in February 1686, Governor Effingham wrote to the Lords of Trade that so many took liberty of speech over the Duke's Rebellion that he feared it might produce the same effect in Virginia. "However we are now quiet. I have put a stop to that by a proclamation and made a few examples." The House of Burgesses steadily resisted the oppressive measures of the Governor, who was then more grasping than Lord Culpeper. He laid a new and heavy tax on the use of the Colonial seal for commissions, patents, etc. For several years the Assembly struggled to be relieved of this burden but without success, until after the accession of William and Mary. Effingham had claimed that the fee on seals had precedent in all other parts of the Empire. To which, on November 12, 1686, the Burgesses "in all humility" replied: "Altho we are unacquainted with the Lawes and practices of ye rest of his Majesties Plantations and Dominions, We are well Assured that both they and all his Majesties Subjects of this his Dominion have such a Right to, And Inheritance in the Lawes of his Majesties Kingdom of England and ye Liberties and Privileges Granted to his Majesties Subjects of that Kingdom, from whom they are descended, that noe payment by ye name of any ffee, Duty or other Imposition can or may be Demanded, Leavyed, or Raised upon Us, but by and with Our Own Consent." Effingham complained bitterly to the Lords of Trade of this address, and in reply they directed that the Assembly be dissolved, that the Burgesses be deprived of power to elect a clerk (who should hereafter be appointed by the Governor)

and once more ordered that Robert Beverley be declared incapable of holding office, and tried.

An item of more encouraging import appears on November 4, 1686, when the Assembly asked the Governor that one or two persons be appointed in each county to examine and approve school masters, many teachers being discouraged by the expense of going to Jamestown for a license. To this Effingham consented.

The crushing of the rebellions in England and Scotland gave an impetus to the attacks of James II on the liberty and religion of England. His goal was evidently the establishment of his own power and the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1686 when Parliament refused to repeal the Test Act, which compelled all office-holders to be members of the Church of England, he dispensed with it and thus was able to put many Catholics into office. Not satisfied with this, he, on April 4, 1687, issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all laws against both Catholics and dissenters. Naturally this caused great uneasiness to the Protestants of Great Britain and the Colonies.

On October 21, 1687, Lord Effingham informed the Council that he had received his Majesty's most gracious Declaration for liberty of conscience and it was ordered that at Jamestown, and in every county it should be published and recorded "with the beat of drum and the firing of great guns and all the joyfulness that this country is capable to express." Of course the Governor and every member of the Council knew that the King's action was a violation of the laws of England. The Indulgence was helpful to a few Quakers—John Pleasants and others—who had been indicted for not going to Church, but there was doubtless among the mass of the people fear and resentment which they dared not express. We have occasional glimpses of this when some bold and impetuous man spoke out and his words were preserved in Court records. In October 1688, Governor Effingham told the Council that "being in Accomac last summer Maj. Charles Scarburgh said to him: 'His Majesty will wear out the Church of England,' and upon the Governor asking 'How?'"

Scarburgh said: 'When there are any vacancies, the King supplies the place with men of other persuasions,' and other like discourses.' For which the Governor rebuked him and removed him from the Commission of Peace. The Council looked on these words as highly tending to the disquiet of this, his Majesty's government and contrary and derogatory to his Majesty's most gracious Declaration of Liberty of Conscience and ordered Scarburgh to appear before them. In the next year the alarm among the Protestants broke out more violently. The House of Burgesses despairing of any relief from the Governor for their grievances determined to appeal directly to the King. They prepared an address and appointed Philip Ludwell (who the year before had been again dismissed from the Council) to carry it to England.

At this time of political and religious excitement in the Colony appears notice of the first Christianizing of any considerable number of Indians. In a letter to England, written in September 1688, Lord Effingham says that the King of Pamunkey and most of his "great men" had desired to become Christians and that he had promised that his children should be christened Charles, James and Catherine. Later in this year, before he had heard of the Revolution in England, Effingham made his exit from the Virginia scene, leaving Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., President of the Council and acting Governor. The Council later declared that the feeling against him was so strong that if he had not sailed when he did there might have been serious disturbances. Philip Ludwell, carrying the petition to the King, went on the same ship.

James II soon became unbearable to the great mass of the English people; and William, Prince of Orange, was invited to come with an armed force and defend their liberties. He landed on November 5th. On December 3rd, James fled to France, and on February 13, 1689, William and Mary (who was the daughter of James II) accepted the Crown.

The anxiety in regard to civil and religious liberty, which from 1685 had grown stronger and stronger in England, spread to Virginia, though there was but little outward expression of it in the Colony. The feeling was accentuated by

events of the latter part of Effingham's administration, and when the news came that William of Orange had landed in England, the country along the upper parts of the Rappahannock and Potomac was ready for an outbreak. Rumor said that the Papists of Maryland had employed the Seneca Indians to murder all the Protestants. People of this section rose in arms. The excitement soon grew almost into hysteria, and was fanned by the fiery preaching of Rev. John Waugh, minister of a parish in Stafford. It was reported that 10,000 Senecas and 9,000 Nanticokes had landed, and that the Councillors and the chief Magistrates of all the counties were Catholics. "There is neither King, laws nor government in England, and therefore none in Virginia" became a common saying among those taking part in the uprising. What might have become a general Civil War was stopped by the firmness and courage of Nicholas Spencer, Richard Lee and Isaac Allerton, the three Councillors living in the Northern Neck. The discontent was finally quieted by the good tidings of the accession to the throne of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.

CHAPTER XXIV

WILLIAM AND MARY

NEWS of the accession to the throne of King William and Queen Mary was received in Virginia with great joy. Their Majesties were proclaimed at Jamestown and in all of the counties of the Colony on May 23, 1689. An entry in the Henrico County records visualizes the scene of the proclamation at Varina, the seat of that county not far down James River from the present county-seat and capital, Richmond. Varina, the home to which John Rolfe took his Indian bride; Varina, where he began the systematic cultivation of tobacco, where within the memory of man a few bricks remained of a house said by tradition to have been the home of him and Pocahontas. The scene at historic Varina was being enacted in all the other county seats; for all had received the order and all were happy to obey it.

Each village known as a county seat comprised a courthouse, in whose grounds were a jail with (conveniently near) whipping post, pillory, ducking-stool, stocks and gallows. Not far away was an inn or tavern, popularly called an "ordinary," a store where merchandize, imported in ships or made in Virginia, could be bought for tobacco or the tobacco note, a church with a graveyard around it, and hitching posts near its gate for the use of those who should come on horse-back—for whose accommodation, too, was always a blacksmith's shop. Surrounded by gardens and orchards, and by fields for tobacco and grain, were a few scattered homes. Most of these were extremely simple—of the one-story and dormer or two-story and dormer type, with outside kitchen. Of course each home had its stable, barn and smoke-house, its log-cabin servants' quarters, its hen-house, its cow-pen and hog-pen. A little way off the river flows by and perhaps a ship may lie at the wharf, or the sails of a sloop or two be in sight. Men in blue homespun work in the fields and gardens, and children play in the unpaved streets.



QUEEN MARY.



KING WILLIAM THE 3rd.

Such is the stage which is set at Varina and in every county-seat of the Colony for the drama of this memorable twenty-third of May. The chief actors in each case are "the commissioned officers of the county, civil and military; the settled militia thereof" and "other inhabitants," who provide a chorus. In the words of the record "The proclamation of their Royal Majesties William and Mary . . . was made with firing of guns, beat of drum, sound of trumpet and ye universal Shouts and Huzzahs of ye people assembled." Hear the echo of those jubilant "huzzahs." It comes sounding down the centuries in benefits, still being enjoyed, bestowed on Virginia by her new King and Queen. Their earliest important favour was the granting of the Burgesses' petition, sent by Philip Ludwell to abolish the fees for use of the seal. In September, Ludwell presented a second petition for the Colony in which many of the acts of Effingham were attacked. Lord Effingham replied at length, but though he had influence enough to retain his place as Governor with half the salary, their Majesties did not send him back to Virginia, but appointed as Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson, who had been Governor of New York.

Governor Nicholson was sworn in at Jamestown, on June 3, 1690, and next day was read the Bishop of London's commission to Reverend James Blair as Commissary to represent him in supervision of the Church in Virginia, which was part of the Lord Bishop's Diocese. The Council asked Governor Nicholson to thank "his Lordship." The new governor's first act was to issue a proclamation commanding the laws of "England and this Colony" against "profaning the Sabbath and against the sin of cursing, swearing, drunkenness and debauchery to be put into execution," as also "the several acts for the well ordering of Negroes."

Though the great majority of Virginians were loyal to William and Mary, there were a few scattered adherents of the fugitive James II. In 1689 one Thomas Brown was charged with calling King William "Rogue, Villian, Rebel and Traitor." It was "frequent with him to compare the said Kinge William to Oliver Cromwell, making ye result of ye compari-

son to render Cromwell an honest man and a saint in respect to ye Kinge." In 1690, Capt. Jacob Lumpkin was brought before the New Kent County Court charged with using abusive language toward their Majesties and the Governor, declining to take off his hat when their healths were drunk, saying that he "would drink to a King and Queen, but not to King William and Queen Mary." Of entirely different type were Richard Lee, Isaac Allerton and John Armistead, Gentlemen, who, feeling themselves bound by former oaths to James II, declined "through scruple of conscience" to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary and were dropped from the Council. They were later reinstated.

In the Council, on June 6, 1699, Samuel Gray, of Middlesex, Clark (minister), was charged with publishing a scandalous, false, malicious and seditious libel against the King and the late Queen Mary of blessed memory, the Government here, the College of William and Mary and several eminent persons. On confession, the Governor pardoned him. On June 22, 1699, John Gordon, minister, was brought before the Council charged with being an accomplice of Samuel Gray in his scandalous libel. (Probably both of these were Scotchmen and adherents of the Stuarts.)

The Council and Burgesses in a joint resolution set apart April 25, 1691, as a "day of humiliation and fasting for ye General Assembly and Inhabitants of James Citty humbly to implore Divine assistance in Directing this General Assembly to make such good and wholesome laws as shall be for the Glory of God, ye honour of their Majesties, ye security, peace and safety of this their Majesties Dominion and the Inhabitants thereof." Governor Nicholson appointed and proclaimed the day, adding that "On Friday ye 8th day of May ye same be performed throughout the whole Country and ye Ministers in ye Respective parishes are not to faile to perform Deuties of the Day by Reading ye service of ye Church and preaching. All persons are to abstain from servile work and labour that day." The Burgesses passed a resolution of congratulation on "Their Majesties' happy accession to the throne, by means whereof the religion law and liberties of

their subjects are happily secured." They thanked the King and Queen for their favours in regard to the address sent by Ludwell and prayed that their "ancient privilege of making appeals to the General Assembly be restored." This was never granted. Lady Frances Berkeley petitioned the House of Burgesses in behalf of her husband, Philip Ludwell, Esq. "in presenting an address of the last House to the King." The Burgesses gave Ludwell a vote of thanks accompanied by a present of £250 Sterling. During this Spring Assembly, 1691, the Burgesses in another address to the King asked for the liberal charter granted by Charles I, but never signed on account of Bacon's Rebellion, but no action seems to have been taken on this request. However, a matter of more personal importance to the Virginians received gracious attention. Nearly seventy years had passed since all thought of the educational system from school to University, so hopefully planned in the time of good Governor Wyatt, had been brought to naught by the dread Indian Massacre. Less elaborate plans for education in Virginia had "died aborning" in the meantime, but all youths who received higher education were still being sent to England—including the Blands, Beverleys, Byrds and many others.

Now see dawn the birthday of higher education in Virginia! Hear the Burgesses petition Governor Nicholson to send out appeals for contributions to a grammar school and college. The Governor is sympathetic, and on the same day, May 20, 1691, an address to the King and Queen in behalf of this step forward is prepared. In it its authors recite that the youth of Virginia is deprived of the benefit of a liberal and virtuous education and many of their parishes lack the instruction and comfort which might be expected from pious and learned ministry, and that they have unanimously resolved that the best remedy for these great evils is to ask for a charter to erect and endow a free school and college. They also pray "that the said Schoole and Colledge may transmit to our Posterity those names which are so deare and auspicious to us, and may accordingly be called the Colledge of King William and Queen Mary." On the day following, Commissary

Blair was appointed by the General Assembly to go to England in the interest of the proposed school and college, and authorized to borrow there such money as should be needed to secure a favourable reception for a request for a charter. On the next day the gentlemen of the Assembly were still much absorbed with the college plans and with instructions to Mr. Blair. He was to go first to the Bishop of London, present his credentials and use his best means to deliver their supplications to their Majesties and to procure from them a charter and (among other details) to obtain leave to collect donations to the college. They sent to Jeffrie Jeffrie, of London, £200 sterling for expenses in relation to the college business and authorized him to spend as much more if necessary. In their instructions to Blair they suggested that there should be a "Grammar School to teach Latin and Greek, a Philosophy School for Philosophy and Mathematics, and a Divinity School for the Oriental Languages and Divinity," for it was "a part of the design that the College be a Seminary for the breeding of good ministers."

The General Assembly endowed the College with the duty on skins and furs, worth over £100 a year, and subscriptions amounting to £2500 were collected for the building. The Assembly was wise in its choice of a man to plead at the feet of the King and Queen for Virginia Youth. This man of godly life and sound sense, and of a determination of will and temper which knew no such word as fail, consecrated himself to his high purpose with a zeal which was bound to be crowned with success. Doubtless a year and a half of waiting seemed long to the Virginians as they watched the slow-footed days drag by, but they were building for the future, and that year and a half of nearly three hundred years past has dwindled to nothing in the eyes of the William and Mary College graduates stepping forward in cap and gown to receive their degrees to-day.

On September 1, 1693, Mr. James Blair, who had landed that morning from England, presented to his Excellency in Council their Majesties' "gracious charter for the erecting and building of a College in Virginia, which was read and



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE AS RESTORED IN 1723

ordered to be recorded." The King gave the General Assembly about £2000, in cash, out of the quit rents (all the balance on hand) "for a College in Virginia" and also the net receipts of the penny-per-pound tax on tobacco in Virginia, worth £200 a year, the Surveyor General's place, worth £50 a year, and 20,000 acres of land for which the College was to give the Government, annually, two copies of Latin verses.

About the time of the King's munificence to the College he brought great relief to the Virginians by a proclamation suspending the unpopular act for ports. Another progressive step was taken early in the new year when a Royal order was read for the establishment of a post office in America. Peter Heyman, gentleman, was appointed deputy post-master for Virginia and Maryland.

During the meeting of the Assembly in October, 1693, the House was informed that "Mr. James Blair attended at the door with divers of the governors of the College." They were called in and Mr. Blair addressing himself to "Mr. Speaker," gave an account of his successful visit to England and said that the gentlemen with him had brought the charter. They withdrew and the charter was read and ordered to be recorded on the books of the House. The subject of the location of the College was then taken up and, after discussion, it was decided to place it at Middle Plantation. In April, 1695 Governor Nicholson ordered an election of a Burgess to represent William and Mary College. In July he "acquainted" the Council that Capt. Miles Cary, Rector of the College, had informed him that Thursday, August 8th, had been appointed for the laying of the foundation of the College, and invited the Governor's presence. He and the Council attended, as doubtless did the Burgesses. See them in their big wigs and robes of State of as many colors as Joseph's coat!

Nicholson was Virginia's most popular governor since Berkeley's early days. He made himself one of the people as the aristocratic Berkeley never did; but, like Sir William, grew eccentric and difficult during a second administration, which has nothing to do with this story. He was given to hospitality, and according to two prominent Virginians of the

time, Christopher Robinson and Henry Hartwell, he entertained some of the Burgesses daily at his table during sessions of the Assembly, which was much appreciated by them but they never heard he did it to unduly influence the Assembly. King William wrote to him the year of the founding of the College that though he had ordered that no governor accept any gifts, an exception would be made in his case, and he might take £300 presented to him by the General Assembly. In the following year the Burgesses and Council wanted to give Nicholson £200 more. He thanked them but declined the gift. This good Governor was not only instrumental in providing local higher education for young Virginia; his encouragement of sports and athletic recreation savors of modern times. The same Spring which saw plans laid for the College of William and Mary heard Nicholson's proclamations in the various counties of an annual field-day for sports, which enlivened the workaday Colonial scene with a spirit of fun suggestive of life under the greenwood tree in Merrie England. Listen to this: "To the Sheriff of Surry County (and the same in other counties):

I desire that you publish notice that I will give first and second prizes to be shott for, wrestled for, played at back-swords, and run for by Horse and foott, to begin on the 22d day of Aprill next St. George's day, being Saturday; all which prizes are to be shott for etc. by the better sort of Virginians onely, who are Batchelors." "The Batchelors of Virginia" wrote the Governor a letter thanking him for his intention of "instituting annual games for the training of young men in manly exercises and feats of activity." Racing, the sport for which Virginia was so long famous, had already become common during her first Century, and in its last thirty years not only races but many places known as "race grounds," where they were run, are frequently mentioned in the records. During Nicholson's first administration and after it for a time, he and Dr. Blair were on friendly and confidential terms, and after his removal to Maryland he retained his interest in the College of which he was a visitor. Neither the College nor Blair were held in the same favor by Gov-

ernor Andros, who it is charged obstructed as far as possible the progress of that institution. In October, 1695, a sharp quarrel between Andros and Blair resulted in Blair's suspension from the Council, of which he had become a member the year before. The King ordered that he be immediately reinstated, which was done. It has been deemed best to trace this early history of the College until the end of the century.

It was in 1697 that Governor Nicholson, the great encourager of William and Mary College (to which he had given £550 of his own money) was removed to Maryland to be Governor of that Colony, and Sir Edmund Andros, a man of very different spirit and temper, succeeded him for a time in Virginia. Under Andros the College Trustees found many difficulties put in their way, but encouraged by a gracious letter from the King to the Governor they went to work and completed two sides of the designed quadrangle, paying out of their own purses when subscriptions were overdue. In 1697 the Grammar School was said to be "in a thriving way," but that the Trustees were struggling for the land the King had granted in Pamunkey Neck, with Secretary Wormeley, "the greatest man in the Government next to the Governor." The Grammar School was reported at this time to be well furnished with a good School Master, usher and writing master, and the "scholars" to be making "great proficiency in their studies." In April of this year Governor Andros, in his hostility to Dr. Blair (now President of William and Mary as well as Commissary to the Bishop of London) declared that, being a Scotchman, Blair was unqualified to sit in the General Court and he was again suspended from the Council. Though a decision was made in his favour he was excluded from the governing body for some time. When he was again readmitted to Council "on producing royal commands," Governor Andros wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury, April, 1697, that he heard from England he is reflected on as an obstructor of the King's commands for the Church and College. "He doesn't know the cause, though it is not for him to please Commissary Blair."

On May 3, 1699, Governor Nicholson, again at the head of

affairs in Virginia, made a speech to the Burgesses, stating that on account of the peace and their obligations to King William, he had asked them the day before, being May Day, to join him in a public day of rejoicing and thanks them for so doing. He had concluded the most proper place for that occasion was William and Mary College, where they could not only see one of his Majesty's bounties (the College building) but they could also judge of the improvement of their youth in learning and education. On May 17th, "The President, Masters and scholars of William and Mary thanked the House for the great honour done the College by their Graceing Our Scholastick Exercises." Signed by James Blair, President; Mongo Ingles, Humanity Professor, and John Hodges, Usher; and by John Allen, Henry Harrison, Orlando Jones and John Jones, Scholars, in behalf of the rest of their "condisciples" (these are the first William and Mary students whose names appear on record). On May Day these scholars made three speeches before the Governor, Assembly and guests. On October 18, 1699, a ship having been condemned and sold for a breach of the acts of trade, the Governor gave half of his part of the forfeiture to the College and the other half to owners of the ship.

On May 11, 1699, the House prepared an address to the Governor, thanking him for the great favor shown them on May Day last at William and Mary College. "We cannot but account it an unspeakable blessing to have our Youth brought into so faire a way of being rescued from Barbarous Ignorance." They thanked Nicholson as the chief promoter and supporter of the College.

In 1696 a plot was formed to assassinate King William, this to be followed by a French invasion in behalf of James II. The plot was discovered and several of the plotters executed. King William had become unpopular, but the discovery of this treason caused the people to rally to him. Most of the Lords and Commons formed an Association to defend his government and support the succession of Princess Anne. The act of Association was widely circulated and was signed by many thousands in England and the Colonies.

In Virginia, on May 18, 1696, the Governor laid before the Council a letter from the English Privy Council, stating the happy discovery of a traitorous and wicked design against the life of his Majesty by assassination. It was ordered that June 2 be appointed a day of public thanksgiving. The Governor ordered that the Commander-in-Chief of each County have all the militia under command to appear in arms at such place or places as they think fit within their counties, solemnizing the same in hearing divine service and other suitable demonstrations upon so extraordinary an occasion. It was also resolved that an address of congratulation from the Governor and Council be sent to the King; also that "it is the opinion and advice of this board that an association be drawn up in order to be signed by his Excellency and the Council, Wherein it shall be expressed that his Majesty, King William, is rightful and lawful King of these realms and that they will defend his Majesty and his government against the late King James and all his adherents." The House of Burgesses resolved that an address be made to the King, congratulating him on preservation from the late horrid conspiracy.

On October 16th, the Burgesses informed the Governor that they had resolved to enter into association for defense of the King, and on October 19th, the Association was drawn and signed by the Speaker and all the members. (This paper with autograph signatures is still in the Public Record Office in London.) The Association signed by the House of Burgesses declared:

"Forasmuch as it is notoriously manifest that there hath lately been an horrid and detestable conspiracy of Papists and other barbarous and bloody traitours in the Kingdom of England to take away his Majesties Life by Assassinating his Royal person, to the End an Internal Invasion from France for the subversion of the Religion, Lawes and Liberties of that Kingdom, and in that of this and all other his Majesties Dominions might be thereby the better facilitated, We whose names are hereunto underwritten the Burgesses Assembled at James City in his Majesties Dominion of Virginia do heartily, Sincerely and Solemnly profess, Testify and declare, that his present Majesty, King William is our Rightful and Lawfull King, and we do

hereby mutually promise and engage to Stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our power, in the Supporting, defending and keeping this Government for his Majesty against the late King James and his adherents and if it should so happen that his Majesty Should come to a violent or untimely end, which God forbid, we do hereby protest and declare that we will be Enemies to all persons that have been his Enemies and also that We will unite, associate and assist Each other in the Defending and keeping this Dominion for Such Successour of his Majesty as the Crown of England shall belong to according to an Act made in the first yeare of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary constituted an act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects and settling the Succession of the Crown."

In this year, Governor Andros received a letter from the Council of Trade and Plantations, complaining that Virginians owned too much land; and that their not settling it kept out other settlers. The Governor replied that the large tracts were patented according to law and he did not see that anything could be done about it. He suggested very sensibly that hereafter the amount of land to be patented be limited to four hundred acres so that grantees would be apt to settle on these small plantations.

In September, 1697, it was written that good pitch and tar were made in Virginia, and an abundance sent to the West Indies. Very good leather was made and shipped to England. Laboring men's shoes made from this leather were cheaper and better than those imported from England. Wages of day laborers were from one to two shillings a day.

Soon after the accession of William and Mary the whole body of the Clergy appealed to the King for relief from their miserable poverty on account of the low price of tobacco, in which their salaries were paid. The King wrote a letter urging that £80 Sterling be paid each minister. The Burgesses and Council declared that the Clergy needed no redress. In 1696 they petitioned the Governor, and finally in 1697 the Assembly passed an act giving them 16,000 pounds of tobacco per annum each.

On October 20, 1698, the State House and adjoining prison at Jamestown had been entirely destroyed by fire, though the

records were saved. On May 18, 1699, the Governor recommended to the Burgesses that they place the Capitol which was to be built, near the College of William and Mary; and on May 18th, the House resolved that the new State House be built at Middle Plantation.

In Williamsburg on June 6, 1699, an act was passed establishing the City of Williamsburg. It was to be laid out at the Middle Plantation which had been found to be healthy, with abundance of good water and nearby two navigable creeks which run into the James and York rivers. There should be on Queen's Creek, which ran into the York, a port or landing-place to be named Queen Mary's Port, in commemoration of the late Queen Mary of blessed memory; and on Archer's Hope Creek, running into the James River, a port called Princess Anne Port, in honor of Princess Anne (afterward Queen Anne); and the chief street should be named the Duke of Gloucester Street in honor of William, Duke of Gloucester (a son of Queen Anne, who died in youth).

The close of Virginia's First Century was the end of an era in more than a chronological sense. Beginning with a little village within palisades, the Colony could now boast of twenty-three counties, several of them recently formed on account of the growth of population. Settlements, sometimes containing only a few people, had reached the head of tide-water on all the rivers, and south of James River, colonists were steadily moving westward to new lands. The population, as given by Governor Andros in 1697, was between 18,000 and 20,000 tithables, or approximately 60,000 people. Another guide to the number of inhabitants is the statement—doubtless made from muster rolls—that the militia consisted of 2020 horse and 6,274 foot.

There were but two towns—rebuilt Jamestown, with still but twenty or thirty houses, and Elizabeth City (or Hampton) with thirty or forty. The lack of towns was considered by many persons in England and Virginia the greatest hindrance to the prosperity of the Colony. They had the old obsession that a strictly agricultural population should be forced to

build towns and live in them, and believed not doing so to be an evidence of stubbornness and ignorance in the colonists.

With the exception of occasional cases of robbery or murder on the frontiers there was little trouble with the Indians, and that other terror of the early settlers, lack of food, had long since passed away. In the last years of the Century the price of tobacco rose to a degree which made existence much more bearable to the colonists, though they frequently pleaded poverty when any large expenditure of public money was asked for. With the approach of the new Century began a wider and happier life. A College had been founded and had begun its work. Unhealthy little Jamestown was abandoned for a capital where a small but very real and famous city was to grow and to be the scene of events of vital importance, not only to Virginia, but to the future United States. There were to be troublesome and domineering governors, but never again would the menace of Virginia's losing her right of self-legislation raise its head. At the end of Virginia's First Century the seeds had been planted from which was to flower the Virginia of Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Mason, Madison, Marshall, Clark, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

During the progress of the work the author collected data for a full Bibliography of the printed and manuscript sources for her "story," but a severe and long-continued illness following the writing of her text prevented her from completing it. It is deemed best not to publish a bibliography which necessarily would be defective.

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